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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1903.

**FAMILY AND POPULAR RELIGION IN
GERMANY ON THE EVE OF THE
REFORMATION.**

1. *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit.* G. FREYTAG.
(Hirzel, Leipzig, 1899.)
2. *Die deutsche Augustiner Congregation.* TH. KÖLDE.
(Perthes, Gotha, 1879.)
3. *Zimmersche Chronik.* K. F. BARACK. (Mohr, Freiburg
im Breisgau, 1881-82.)

IT is a strange fact that, with the exception of Theodore Kolde, not one of the biographers of Luther—and they are legion—has sought to investigate the family and popular religion which made the spiritual atmosphere breathed by the future reformer in his childhood, boyhood, and years of student life. All declare, and truly, that Luther in his younger years was singularly sensitive to religious impressions of all kinds, and that in riper years personal religion was to him the only question of real importance.

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He cared little for matters of ecclesiastical organisation in themselves and apart from the influence, for good or for evil, which they had on the personal life of piety. As late as 1530 the *Augsburg Confession* says: "Our meaning is not to have rule taken from the bishops; but this one thing only is required at their hands, that they should suffer the gospel to be purely taught, and that they would relax a few observances which cannot be held without sin"; and fifteen years later his opinion was still the same.

His whole interest in theology lay in its practical or experimental side. When he began teaching, his lectures differed from those usually given under the same name. Scholastic theology, even of the "modern type" which was taught in Erfurt, had for its aim to reconcile "Faith" and "Reason"; and Faith meant the sum of what the Church Fathers had taught, while Reason was the sum of the conclusions which could be extracted from Aristotelian philosophy. Luther believed that the real task of theology was a different one. Its business was to teach a man who felt himself to be a sinner how he could attain a sense of the pardoning mercy of God, and how, having attained this blessed sense of pardon, he could live the kind of life which God required. His theology was practical and experimental above all things—something which had to do with personal religion.

His ideas of what a reformation of the Church ought to be was shaped by the same principle. In the very earliest tract of his which has come down to us—an address delivered to a clerical assembly convened in the episcopal castle of Ziesar in 1512, years before the fight against Indulgences had begun—he declared that every reformation must begin in the individual heart quickened by faith, which is Christ dwelling within. In his celebrated sermons preached in Wittenberg to allay the storms raised by the Zwickau prophets, he said: "If I employ force, what do I gain? Changes in demeanour, outward shows, grimaces, shams, hypocrisies. But what becomes of the sincerity of the heart, of faith, of Christian love? All is wanting where these are lacking; and for the

rest, I would not give the stalk of a pear. . . . When the heart is won, all is won." From childhood, when he shivered in the parish church at Mansfeld as he gazed at the frowning face of Jesus, seated on a rainbow and with a drawn sword in His hand, coming to punish the wicked, on to the days when he set out on his last journey, ready to "lay down his bones cheerfully in the grave if he could only reconcile his dear lords of Mansfeld," the one thing which filled Luther's heart and mind was the question of personal religion.

Moreover, it was because he was recognised to possess personal religion that he became such a power in the hearts of other men of all ranks and sorts. Albert Dürer may be taken as a type. In the great painter's diary of the journey he made with his wife and her maid Susanna to the Netherlands—a mere summary of the places he visited and the persons he saw, of what he paid for food and drink, lodging and travel, of the prices he got for his pictures, of his purchases, literary and artistic—he tells us how he heard of Luther's condemnation at Worms, of the reformer's disappearance, of his supposed murder by Popish emissaries—for so the report went throughout Germany—and the news compelled him to that pouring forth of prayers, of exclamations, of fervent appeals and of bitter regrets, which fills three out of the whole forty-six pages. The Luther he almost worships is the "pious man," the "follower of the Lord and of the true Christian faith," the "man enlightened by the Holy Spirit," the man who had been done to death by the Pope and the priests of his day as the Son of God had been murdered by the priests in Jerusalem. There is no word of Humanism or Mysticism or any other "ism"; it is the personal religious life of the man, Martin Luther, that appeals to him.

With so many finger-posts pointing in the one direction, with our knowledge of the sensitive, impressionable nature of the young Luther, with the conviction that there must have been something of the same religious faith in the hearts of the thousands who rallied round him when he stood

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forth against Indulgences, and who felt with Dürer that no one had so clearly expounded the truths of the Holy Scripture, some information about the family and popular religious life in the half-century before 1517 ought to help us to understand something about the roots of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. Yet that information, so far as I know, has never been collected and set forth with any completeness.

When these decades are studied with some detail, the religious life then lived is full of what appear to us discordant elements, which make a very inharmonious mosaic. If classification be permissible, which it scarcely is (for religious types always refuse to be kept distinct and always tend to run into each other), one would be disposed to speak of the simple homely piety of the family circle—the religion taught at the mother's knee, the *Kinderlehre*, as Luther called it; of a certain flamboyant religion which inspired the crowds; of a calm anti-clerical religion which grew and spread silently throughout Germany; of the piety of the praying-circles of the descendants of the fourteenth-century Mystics; and of the eclectic faith of the Humanists. They are all to be found in the half-century before 1517. Their traces have to be sought for in autobiographies, diaries, and private letters; in the books of popular religion which the patience of ecclesiastical archæologists are exhuming and reprinting; in the references to the confraternities of the later Middle Ages, and more especially to the *Kalands* among artisans, which appear in town chronicles and whose constitutions are being slowly unearthed by local archæological and historical societies; in the police regulations of towns and country districts which aim at curbing the power of the clergy, and in the edicts of princes attempting to enforce some of the decisions of the Councils of Constance and Basel; in the more popular hymns of the time and in the sermons of the more fervent preachers; in the pilgrim songs and the pilgrim guide-books; and in a variety of other sources not commonly studied by Church historians. When we collect the material gathered from such out-of-

the-way sources, we find something like the following picture of the religious life of the times.

1. The biographies of some of the leaders of the Reformation, when they relate the childish reminiscences of the writers, bear unconscious witness to the kind of religion which was taught to the children in pious burgher and peasant families. We know that Luther learned the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. He knew such simple evangelical hymns as "Ein kindelein so lobelich," "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," and "Crist ist erstanden." Children were rocked to sleep while the mothers sang :

Ach lieber Heere Jhesu Christ
Sid Du ein Kind gewesen bist,
So gib ouch disem Kindelin
Din Gnod und ouch den Segen din.
Ach Jhesus, Heere min,
Behüt diz Kindelin.

Nun sloff, nun sloff, min Kindelin,
Jhesus der sol din bülli sin,
Der well, daz dir getroume wol
Und werdest aller Tugent vol.
Ach Jesus, Heere min,
Behüt diz Kindelin.¹

And these songs or hymns, common before the Reformation, were sung as frequently after the break with Rome.

¹ This may be translated :

O Jesus, Master, meek and mild,
Since Thou wast once a little child,
Wilt Thou not give this baby mine
Thy Grace and every blessing Thine.
O Jesus, Master mild,
Protect my little child.

Now sleep, now sleep, my little child,
He loves thee, Jesus meek and mild ;
He'll never leave thee nor forsake,
He'll make thee wise and good and great.
O Jesus, Master mild,
Protect my little child.

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Few hymns were more popular during the last decades of the fifteenth century than the following one in which Latin and German mingled. I give the first and last verses :

In dulci júbilo,
Nun singet und seid froh !
Unsers Herzens Wonne
Leit in præsepio,
Und leuchtet als die Sonne
Matris in gremio.
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O !

Ubi sunt gaudia ?
Nirgends mehr denn da,
Da die Engel singen
Nova cantica,
Und die Schellen klingen
In regis curia.
Eya, wär'n wir da,
Eya, wär'n wir da !

This hymn continued to enjoy a wonderful popularity in the German Protestant churches and families until quite recently, and during the times of the Reformation it spread far beyond Germany.¹ In the fifteenth-century version it contained one verse in praise of the Virgin :

¹ The old Scotch version was :

In dulci júbilo,
Now let us sing with mirth and jo !
Our hartis consolation
Lies in præsepio ;
And schynis as the Sonne
Matris in gremio.
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O !

O Jesu parvule,
I thirst sair after Thee ;
Comfort my hart and mind,
O Puer optime !
God of all grace so kind,
Et Princeps Gloriæ,
Trahe me post Te,
Trahe me post Te !

Mater et filia
Du bist, Jungfraw Maria.
Wir weren all verloren
Per nostra crimina,
So hat sy uns erworben
Coelorum gaudia.
Eya, wär'n wir da,
Eya, wär'n wir da !

which was either omitted in the post-Reformation versions,
or there was substituted :

O Patris charitas,
O Nati lenitas !
Wir weren all verloren
Per nostra crimina,
So hat Er uns erworben
Coelorum gaudia.
Eya, wär'n wir da,
Eya, wär'n wir da.

Nor was direct simple evangelical instruction lacking. Friedrich Mecum (known better by his latinised name of Myconius), who was born in 1491, relates how his father, a substantial burgher belonging to Lichtenfels in Upper Franconia, instructed him in religion while he was a child. "My dear father," he says, "had taught me in my childhood the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, and constrained me to pray always. For, said he, 'Everything comes to us from God alone, and that *gratis*, free of cost, and He will lead us and rule us, if we only diligently pray to Him.'" We can trace this simple evangelical family

Ubi sunt gaudia
In any place but there,
Where that the angels sing
Nova cantica,
But and the bellis ring
In Regis curia !
God gif I were there,
God gif I were there !

There is a variety of English versions: "Let Jubil trumpets blow, and hearts in rapture flow"; "In dulci jubilo, to the House of God we'll go"; "In dulci jubilo, sing and shout all below."—Cf. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 564.

religion away back through the Middle Ages. In the wonderfully interesting Chronicle of Brother Salimbene of the Franciscan Convent of Parma, which comes from the thirteenth century, we are told how many of the better-disposed burghers of the town came to the convent frequently to enjoy the religious conversation of Brother Hugh. On one occasion the conversation turned upon the mystical theology of Abbot Joachim de Flore. The burghers professed to be greatly edified, but said that they hoped that on the next evening Brother Hugh would confine himself to telling them the *simple words of Jesus*.

The central thought in all evangelical religion is that the believer does not owe his position before God, and his assurance of salvation, to the good deeds which he really can do, but to the grace of God manifested in the mission and the work of Christ; and the more we turn from the thought of what we can do, to the thought of what God has done for us, the stronger will be the conviction that simple trust in God is that by which the pardoning grace of God is appropriated. This double conception—God's grace coming down upon us from above, and the believer's trust rising from beneath to meet and appropriate—was never absent from the simplest religion of the Middle Ages. It did not find articulate expression in mediæval theology, for, owing to its enforced connexion with Aristotelian philosophy, that theology was largely artificial; but the thought itself had a continuous and constant existence in the public consciousness of Christian men and women exhibited in sermons, prayers, and hymns, and in the other ways in which the devotional life manifested itself. It is found in the sermons of the greatest of mediæval preachers, Bernard of Clairvaux, and in the teaching of the most persuasive of religious guides, Francis of Assisi. The one, Bernard, in spite of his theological training, was able to rise above the thought of human merit recommending the sinner to God; and the other, Francis, who had no theological training at all, insisted that he was fitted to lead a life of imitation simply because he had no personal merits

whatsoever, and owed everything to the marvellous mercy and grace of God given freely to him in the work of Christ. The thought that all the good we can do comes from the wisdom and mercy of God, and that without these gifts of grace we are sinful and worthless—the feeling that all pardon and all holy living are free gifts of God's grace, was the central thought round which in mediæval, as in all times, the faith of simple and pious people twined itself. It found expression in the simpler mediæval hymns, Latin and German. The utter need for sin-pardoning grace is expressed and taught in the prayer of the *Canon of the Mass*. It found its way even into the official agenda of the Church, in spite of its theology, where the dying are told that they must repose their confidence upon Christ and His Passion as the sole ground of confidence in their salvation. If we take the fourth book of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*, it is impossible to avoid seeing that his ideas about the sacrament of the Supper (in spite of the mistakes in them) kept alive in his mind the thought of a free grace of God, and that he had a clear conception that God's grace was freely given and not merited by what man can do. For the main thought with pious mediæval Christians, however it might be overlaid with superstitious conceptions, was that they received in the sacrament a *gift* of overwhelming greatness. Many a modern Christian seems to think that the main idea is that in this sacrament one *does* something—makes a profession of Christianity. The old view went a long way towards keeping people right in spite of errors, while the modern view does a great deal towards leading them wrong in spite of truth.

All these things combine to show us how there was a simple evangelical faith among pious mediæval Christians, and that their lives were fed upon the same divine truths as lie at the basis of the Reformation theology. The truths were all there, as poetic thoughts, as earnest supplication and confession, in fervent preaching or in fireside teaching. When the mediæval Christian knelt in prayer, stood to sing his Redeemer's praises, spoke as a dying man

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to dying men, or as a mother to the children about her knees, the words and thoughts that came were what Luther and Zwingli and Calvin wove into Reformation creeds, and expanded into that experimental theology which was characteristic of the Reformation.

When the printing-press began in the last decades of the fifteenth century to provide little books to aid private and family devotion, it is not surprising, after what has been said, to find how full many of them were of simple evangelical piety. Some contained the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and sometimes a translation or paraphrase of some of the Psalms, notably the 51st Psalm. Popular religious instructions and catechisms for family use were printed. The Catechism of Dietrich Koelde (written in 1470) says: "Man must place his faith and hope and love on God alone, and not in any creature; he must trust in nothing but in the work of Jesus Christ." The *Seelenwurzgartlein*, a widely used book of devotion, instructs the penitent: "Thou must place all thy hope and trust on nothing else than on the work and death of Jesus Christ." The *Geistliche Streit* of Ulrich Krafft (1503) teaches the dying man to place all his trust on the "mercy and goodness of God, and not on his own good works." Quotations might be multiplied, all proving the existence of a simple evangelical piety, and showing that the home experience of Friedrich Mecum (Myconius) was shared in by thousands, and that there was a simple evangelical family religion in numberless German homes in the end of the fifteenth century.

2. But when sensitive, religiously disposed boys left pious homes they could not fail to come in contact with a very different kind of religion. Many did not need to quit the family circle in order to meet it. Near Mansfeld, Luther's home, were noted pilgrimage-places. Pilgrims, singly or in great bands, went to make their devotions before the wooden cross at Kyffhäuser, which was supposed to effect miraculous cures. The Bruno Quertfort Chapel and the old chapel at Welfesholz were pilgrimage-places. Sick people were carried to spots near the cloister church at Wimmelberg,

where they could best hear the sound of the cloister bells, which were believed to have a healing virtue.

The latter half of the fifteenth century witnessed a great and wide-spreading religious revival which lasted and prolonged itself into the earlier decades of the sixteenth, though the year 1475 may perhaps be taken as its high-water mark. Its most characteristic feature was the impulse to make pilgrimages to favoured shrines; and these pilgrimages were always considered to be something in the nature of satisfactions made to God for sins. With some of the earlier phenomena we have nothing here to do.

The impetus to pilgrimages given after the great Schism by the celebration in 1456 of the first Jubilee "after healing the wounds of the Church"; the relation of these pilgrimages to the doctrines of Indulgences which, formulated by the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century, had changed the whole penitential system of the mediæval Church; the curious socialist, anti-clerical, and yet deeply superstitious movement led by the cowherd and village piper, Hans Böhaim,—all these must be passed over. But one movement is so characteristic of the times that it must be noticed. In the years 1455-1459 all the chroniclers describe great gatherings of children from every part of Germany, from town and village, who, with crosses and banners, went on pilgrimage to St. Michael in Normandy. The chronicler of Lübeck compares the spread of the movement to the advance of the plague, and wonders whether the prompting arose from the inspiration of God or from the instigation of the devil. When a band of these child pilgrims reached a town carrying aloft crosses and banners blazoned with a rude image of St. Michael, singing their special pilgrim song,¹

¹ The song began :

Wollent ir geren hören
Von sant Michel's wunn ;
In Gargau ist er gessen
Drei mil im meresgrund.
O heilger man, sant Michel,
Wie hastu dass gesundt,
Dass du so tief hast buwen
Wol in des meres grund?

the town's children seemed impelled to join them. How this strange epidemic arose, and what put an end to it, seems altogether doubtful; but the chronicles of almost every important town in Germany attest the facts, and the contemporary chronicles of North France describe the bands of youthful pilgrims who traversed the country to go to St. Michael's Mount.

During these last decades of the fifteenth century a great fear seems to have brooded over Central Europe. The countries were scourged by incessant visits of the plague; new diseases, never before heard of, came to swell the terror of the people. The fear of a Turkish invasion was always before their eyes. Bells tolled at midday in hundreds of German parishes calling the parishioners together for prayer against the incoming of the Turks, and served to make the dread always present to their minds. Mothers threatened their disobedient children by calling on the Turk to come and take them. It was fear that lay at the basis of this crude revival of religion which marks the closing decades of the fifteenth century. It gave rise to an urgent restlessness. Prophecies of evil were easily believed in. Astrologers assumed a place and wielded a power which was as new as it was strange. The credulous people welcomed all kinds of revelations and proclamations of miraculous signs. At Wilsnack, a village in one of the divisions of Brandenburg (Priegnitz), it had been alleged since 1383 that a consecrated wafer secreted the Blood of Christ. Suddenly, in 1475, people were seized with a desire to make a pilgrimage to this shrine. Swarms of child-pilgrims again filled the roads—boys and girls, from eight to eighteen years of age, bare-headed, clad only in their shirts, shouting "O Lord, have mercy upon us"—going to Wilsnack. Sometimes the schoolmasters headed a band of pilgrims; mothers deserted their younger children to follow the band; country lads and maids left their work in the fields to join the processions. These pilgrims came mostly from Central Germany (1,100 from Eisleben alone); but the contagion spread to Austria and Hungary, and great bands of youthful pilgrims appeared from these countries. They travelled without provisions, and

depended on the charity of the peasants for food. Some towns tried to put a stop to the pilgrimages. Erfurt shut its gates against them. They ended as suddenly as they had begun.

Apart altogether from these sporadic movements, the last decades of the fifteenth century were pre-eminently a time of pilgrimages. German princes and wealthy merchants made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, visited the sacred places there, and returned with numerous relics which they stored in favourite churches. Friedrich the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, to be known afterwards as the protector of Luther, made such a pilgrimage, and placed the relics he had acquired in the Castle Church (the Church of All Saints) in Wittenberg. He became an assiduous collector of relics, and had commissioners on the Rhine, in the Netherlands, and at Venice, with orders to procure him any sacred novelties they met with for sale. He procured from the Pope an Indulgence for all who visited the collection and took part in the services of the church on All Saints' Day; for it is one of the ironies of history that the church on whose door Luther nailed his theses against Indulgences was one of the sacred edifices on which an Indulgence had been bestowed, and that the day selected by Luther was the yearly anniversary which drew crowds to benefit by the Indulgence.

A pilgrimage to the Holy Land was too costly and dangerous a thing to be indulged in by many. The richer Germans made pilgrimages to Rome, and the great pilgrimage-place for the middle-class or poorer Germans was Compostella in Spain. Einsiedeln, in Switzerland, also attracted yearly swarms of pilgrims.

Guide-books were written for the benefit of these pious travellers, and two of them, the most popular, have recently been reprinted. They are the *Mirabilia Romae*, for Roman pilgrims, and the *Walfart und Strasse zu Sant Jacob* for travellers to Compostella. These little books had a wonderful popularity. The *Mirabilia Romae* went through nineteen Latin and at least twelve German editions before the year 1500; it was also translated into Italian and Dutch. It describes the various shrines at Rome, where pilgrims may

win special gifts of grace by visiting and worshipping at them. Who goes to the Lateran Church and worships there has "forgiveness of all sins, both guilt and penalty." There is "a lovely little chapel" (probably what is now called the Lateran Baptistry) near the Lateran, where the same privileges may be won. The pilgrim who goes with good intention to the High Altar of St. Peter's Church, "even if he has murdered his father or his mother," is freed from all sin, "guilt as well as penalty," provided he repents. The virtues of St. Croce seem to have been rated even higher. If a man leaves his house with the intention of going to the shrine, even if he die by the way, all his sins are forgiven him; and if he visits the church, he wins a thousand years relief from Purgatory.

Compostella in Spain was the people's pilgrimage-place. Before the invention of printing we find traces of manuscript guides to travellers, which were no doubt circulated among intending pilgrims, and the services of the printing-press were early called in to assist. In the Spanish archives at Siamancas there are two single sheets, the one of which states the numerous Indulgences for the benefit of visitors at the shrine of St. James, while the other enumerates the relics which are to be seen and visited there. It mentions thirty-nine great relics—from the bones of St. James, which lay under the great altar of the cathedral, to those of St. Susanna, which were interred in a church outside the walls of the town.¹ These leaflets were sold to the pilgrims, and were carried back by them to Germany, where they stimulated the zeal and devotion of those who intended to make the pilgrimage. Our pilgrim's guide-book, the *Walfart und Strasse zu Sant Jacob*, deals almost exclusively with the road. The author was a certain Hermann König, of Vach, who calls himself a *Mergen-knecht*, or servant of the Virgin Mary. The well known pilgrim song, "Of Saint James" (Von Sant Jacob) told how those who reached the end of their journey got, through the intercession of St. James,

¹ The title is *Hae sunt reliquiae quae habentur in hac sanctissima ecclesia Compostellana in qua corpus Beati Jacobi Zebedei in integrum.*

forgiveness for the guilt and penalty (von Pein und Schuld) of all their sins ; it tells the pilgrims to provide themselves with two pairs of shoes, a water-bottle and a spoon, a satchel and a staff, a broad-brimmed hat and a cloak, both trimmed with leather in the places likeliest to be worn, and both needed to protect against the wind and rain and snow.¹ It charges them to take with them permits from their parish priests to dispense with confession, for they were going to foreign lands where they would not find priests who spoke German. It warns them that they might die far from home and find a grave on the pilgrimage route. Our guide-book omits all these things. It is written by a man who has made the pilgrimage on foot ; who had observed minutely all the turns of the road, and could warn fellow-pilgrims of the difficulties of the way. He gives the itinerary from town to town ; where to turn to the right and where to the left ; what conspicuous buildings mark the proper path ; where the traveller will find people who are generous to poor pilgrims, and where the inhabitants are uncharitable and food and drink must be bought ; where hostels abound, and those parts of the road on which there are few, and where the pilgrims must buy their provisions beforehand and carry them with them in their satchels ; where sick pilgrims can find hospitals on the way, and what treatment they may expect there ;² at what hostels they must change their money into

¹ Zway par schuech der darff er wol,
 Ein schüssel bei der flaschen ;
 Ein breiten huet den sol er han,
 Und an mantel sol er nit gan
 Myt leder wol besezet ;
 Es schnei oder regn oder wehe der wint,
 Dass in die lufft nicht nezet ;
 Sagkh und stab ist auch dar bey.

Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der aelsten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, ii. 1009.

² The hospital at Romans is much praised :

Da selbst eyn gutter spital ist,
 Dar inne gybt mann brot und wyn
 Auch synt die bett hupsch und fyn.

On the other hand, although the hospital at Montpelier was good

French and Spanish coin. In brief, the booklet is a mediæval "Baedeker," compiled with German accuracy for the benefit of German pilgrims to the renowned shrine of St. James of Compostella. This little book went through several editions between 1495 and 1521, and is of itself a proof of the popularity of this pilgrimage-place. In the last decades of the fifteenth century there arose a body of men and women who might be called professional pilgrims, and who were continually on the road between Germany and Spain. A pilgrimage was one of the earliest so-called "satisfactions" which might be done vicariously, and the James Brethren (Jacobs-Brueder) made the pilgrimage regularly, either on behalf of themselves or of others.

Many of these pilgrims were men and women of indifferent character, who had been sent on a pilgrimage as an ecclesiastical punishment for their sins. The *Zimmer Chronicle* gives several cases of criminals, who had committed murder or theft or other serious crimes between 1490 and 1520, who were sent to Santiago as a punishment. Even in the last decades of the fifteenth century, when the greater part of the pilgrims were devout in their way, it was known only too well that pilgrimages were not helpful to a moral life. Stern preachers of righteousness like Geiler of Keyzersberg and Berchtold of Regensburg denounced pilgrimages, and said that they created more sins than they yielded pardons. Parish priests continually forbade their

enough, its superintendent was a sworn enemy to Germans, and the pilgrims of that nation suffered much at his hands. These hospitals occupy a good deal of space in the pilgrimage song, and the woes of the Germans are duly set forth. If the pilgrim asks politely for more bread :

Spitelmeister, lieber spitelmeister meyn,
Die brot sein vil zu kleine ;

or suggests that the beds are not very clean :

Spitelmeister, lieber spitelmeister meyn,
Die bet sein nit gar reine,

the superintendent and his daughter (der spitelmeister het eyn tochterlein es mocht recht vol eyn schelckin seyn) declared that they were not going to be troubled with "German dogs." Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, &c., ii. 1010.

women penitents, especially if they were unmarried, from going on a pilgrimage. But these warnings and rebukes were in vain. The prevailing terror had possessed the people, and they journeyed from shrine to shrine seeking some relief for their stricken consciences.

A marked characteristic of this revival which found such striking outcome in these pilgrimages was the thought that Jesus was to be looked upon as the Judge who was to come to punish the wicked. His saving and intercessory work was thrust into the background. Men forgot that He was the Saviour and the Intercessor; and as the human heart craves for someone to intercede for it, another intercessor had to be found. This gracious personality was discovered in the Virgin Mother, who was to be entreated to intercede with her Son on behalf of poor sinning human creatures. The last half of the fifteenth century saw a deep-seated and widely-spread craving to cling to the protection of the Virgin Mother. It witnessed the furthest advance that had yet been made towards what must be called Mariolatry. This devotion expressed itself, as religious emotion continually does, in hymns; a very large proportion of the mediæval hymns in praise of the Virgin were written in the second half of the fifteenth century—the period of this strange revival based upon fear. Dread of the Son as Judge gave rise to the devotion to the Mother as the intercessor. Little books for private and family devotion were printed, bearing such titles as the *Pearl of the Passion* and the *Little Gospel*, containing, with long comments, the words of our Lord on the cross to John and to Mary. She became the ideal woman, the ideal mother, the "Mother of God," the *mater dolorosa*, with her heart pierced by the sword, the sharer in the redemptive sufferings of her Son, retaining her sensitive woman's heart, ready to listen to the appeals of a suffering sorrowful humanity. The theology of the schools followed in the wake of the popular sentiment, and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was more strictly defined and found its most strenuous supporters during the later decades of this fifteenth century.

The thought of motherly intercession went further ; the Virgin herself had to be interceded with to induce her to plead with her Son for men sunk in sin, and *her* mother (St. Anna) became the object of a cult which may almost be said to be quite new. Hymns were written in her praise. Confraternities, modelled on the confraternities dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, were formed in order to bring the powers of the prayers of numbers to bear upon her. These confraternities spread all over Germany and beyond it. It is almost possible to trace the widening area of the cult from the chronicles of the period. The special cult of the Virgin seems to have begun, at least in its extravagant popular form, in North France, and to have spread from France through Germany and Spain ; but so far as I can trace it, this cult of St. Anna had a German origin, and the devotion manifested itself most deeply on German soil. The name of St. Anna was graven on many a parish church-bell and every pull at the ropes and clang of the bell was supposed to be a prayer to St. Anna to intercede. The Virgin and St. Anna brought in their train other saints who were also believed to be the true intercessors. The three bells of the church in which Luther was baptized bore the following inscriptions carved deeply in the brass : "God help us ; Mary have mercy. 1499." "Help us Anna, also St. Peter, St. Paul. 1509." "Help us God, Mary, Anna, St. Peter, Paul, Arnold, Stephan, Simon. 1509." The popular religion always represented Jesus, Mecum (Myconius) tells us, as the stern Judge who would convict and punish all those who had not secured righteousness by the intercession of the saints or by their own good works.

This revival of religion, crude as it was and based on fear, had a distinct effect on a portion of the clergy, and led to a great reformation of morals among those who came under its influence. The great Papal Schism, which had lasted till 1449, had for one of its effects the weakening of all ecclesiastical discipline, and its consequences were seen in the growing immorality which pervaded all classes of the clergy. So far as one can judge the revival of

religion described above had not very much effect on the secular clergy. Whether we take the evidence from the chronicles of the time or from the visitations of the bishops, the morals of the parish priests were extremely low and the private lives of the higher clergy in Germany were notoriously corrupt. The occupants of the episcopal sees were for the most part the younger brothers of the great princes and had been placed in the religious life for the sake of the ecclesiastical revenues. The author of the *Chronicles of the Zimmer Family* tells us that at the festive gatherings which accompanied the meetings of the Diet, the young nobles, lay and clerical, spent most of their time at dice and cards. As he passed through the halls, picking his way among groups of young nobles lying on the floor (for tables and chairs were rare in these days), he continually heard the young count call out to the young bishop, "Play up, parson; it is your turn." The same writer describes the retinue of a great prelate, who was always accompanied to the Diet by a concubine dressed in man's clothes. Nor were the older orders of monks, the Benedictines and their offshoots, greatly influenced by the revival. It was different, however, with those orders of monks who came into close contact with the people and caught from them the new fervour. The Dominicans, the great preaching order, were permeated by reform. The Franciscans, who had degenerated sadly from their earlier lives of self-denial, partook of the new life. Convent after convent reformed themselves, and the inmates began to lead again the lives their founder had contemplated. The fire of the revival, however, burnt brightest among the Augustinian Eremites, and they represented, as none of the others did, all the characteristics of the new movement.

These Augustinian Eremites had a somewhat curious history. They had nothing in common with St. Augustine save the name and the fact that a pope had given them the rule of St. Augustine as a basis for their monastic constitution. They had originally been hermits living solitary lives in mountainous parts of Italy and of Germany. Many

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popes had desired to bring them under conventional rule, and this was at last successfully done. They had shared as no other order had done in the revival of the second half of the fifteenth century and exhibited in their lives all its religious characteristics. No order of monks were such devoted servants of the Virgin Mother. She was the patron of the order along with St. Augustine. Her image stood in the chapter-house of every convent. The theologians of the Augustinian Eremites vied with those of the Franciscans in spreading the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. They did much to spread the cult of the "Blessed Anna." They were devoted to the Papacy. One of their learned men, John of Pfalz, the Professor of Theology in the Erfurt Convent when Luther entered it as a novice, was the most strenuous defender of the doctrine of Attrition and of the religious value of Indulgences. With all this their lives were self-denying to a greater extent than those of most monks. They cultivated theological learning, and few universities in Germany were without an Augustinian Eremite who acted as professor of philosophy or of theology. They also paid great attention to the art of preaching, and every large monastery had a special preacher who usually attracted crowds of the laity to the convent chapel. Their monasteries were usually placed in large towns, and their devout lives, their learning, and the popular gifts of their preachers made them favourites with the townspeople. They were the most esteemed order in Germany.

These last decades of the fifteenth century were the days of the resuscitation of the mendicant orders and the revival of their powers over the people. The better disposed among the princes and among the wealthier burghers invariably selected their confessors from the monks of the mendicant orders, and especially from the Augustinian Eremites. The chapels of the Franciscans and of the Eremites were thronged, and the parish clergy were deserted. The common people took for their religious guides the men who shared the new revival and who proved their sincerity by their self-denying labours. It was in vain that the Roman

Curia published regulations insisting that every parishioner must confess to the priest of the parish at least once a year, and that it explained again and again that the personal character of the ministrant did not affect the efficacy of the sacraments administered by him. So long as a poorly clad, emaciated, clean-living Franciscan or Eremite priest could be found to act as a confessor, priest, or preacher, the people deserted the parish clergy, flocked to their confessionals, waited on their serving the mass, and thronged their chapels to listen to their sermons. These decades were the time of the last revival of the mendicant monks who were the religious guides in this flamboyant popular religion which is so much in evidence during our period.

3. The third religious movement which belongs to the last decades of the fifteenth century and the earlier decades of the sixteenth century was of a kind so different from and even contrary to what has just been described that it is with some surprise that the student finds he must recognise its presence alongside of the other. It was the silent spread of a quiet, sincere, but non-ecclesiastical religion. Historians are usually silent about this movement, and it is only a minute study of the town chronicles and of the records of provincial and municipal legislation that reveals its power and extent. It has always been recognised that Luther's father was a man of a deep religious turn of mind, although he commonly despised the clergy, and thought that most monks were rogues or fools; but what is not recognised is that he represented in this thousands of quiet and pious Germans in all classes of society. We find traces of the silent, wide-spreading movement in the ecclesiastical legislation of German princes; in the police regulations, and in the provisions for the support of the poor among the burghers; and in the constitutions and practices of the confraternities among the lower classes and especially among the artisans in the towns.

The reforms sketched by the Councils of Constance and of Basel had been utterly neglected by the Roman Curia, and in consequence several German princes, while they felt

the hopelessness of insisting on a general purification of the Church, resolved that these reforms should be carried out within their own dominions. As early as 1446 Duke William of Saxony had published decrees which interfered with the pretensions of the Church to be quite independent of the State. His regulations about the observance of the Sunday, his forbidding ecclesiastical courts to interfere with Saxon laymen, his stern refusal to allow any Saxon to appeal to a foreign jurisdiction, were all more or less instances of the interference of the secular power within what had been supposed to be the exclusive province of the ecclesiastical. He went much further, however. He enacted that it belonged to the secular power to see that parish priests and their superiors within his dominions lived lives befitting their vocation—a conception which was entirely at variance with the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Middle Ages. He also declared it to be within the province of the secular power to visit officially and to reform all the convents within his dominions. So far as proofs go, it is probable that these declarations about the rights of the civil authorities to exercise discipline over the parish priests and their superiors remained a dead letter. We hear of no such reformation being carried out. But the visitation and reform of the Saxon monasteries were put in force in spite of the protests of the ecclesiastical powers. Andreas Proles would never have been able to carry out his proposals of reform in the convents of the Augustinian Eremites but for the support he received from the secular princes against his ecclesiastical superiors in Rome. The Dukes Ernest and Albrecht carried out Duke William's conceptions about the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical authorities in their ordinances of 1483, and the Elector Friedrich the Wise was the heir to this ecclesiastical policy of his family.

The records of the Electorate of Brandenburg investigated by Priebatsch and described by him in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* testify to the same ideas at work there. A pious prince like Friedrich II. of Brandenburg removed unworthy Church dignitaries and reinstated them, thus

taking upon himself the oversight of the Church. Appeals to Rome were forbidden under penalties. Gradually under Friedrich and his successors there arose what was practically a national Church of Brandenburg, which was almost completely under the control of the civil power, and which was almost entirely separated from Roman control.

The towns also interfered in what had hitherto been believed to be within the exclusive domain of the ecclesiastical authorities. They recognised the harm which the numerous Church festivals and saints' days were doing to the people, and passed regulations about their observance, all of them tending to lessen the number of the days on which men were compelled by ecclesiastical law to be idle. When Luther pleaded in his *Address to the Nobility of the German Nation* for the abolition of the ecclesiastical laws compelling idleness on the numerous ecclesiastical holy-days, he only suggested an extension and wider application of the police regulations which were in force within his native district of Mansfeld.

This non-ecclesiastical religious feeling comes out very strongly when the charitable foundations of the German cities are examined. Throughout the Middle Ages charity was held to be a Christian duty, and *therefore* all charities were to be managed by Churchmen. Charitable bequests for the poor were left by pious people to the management of the clergy. That was the invariable custom during the earlier Middle Ages. The change from clerical to lay management was at first probably mainly due to the degeneracy of the clergy, and to the belief that the funds set apart for the poor were not properly administered. The evidences of this are to be found in the numerous instances of the civic authorities attempting, and that successfully, to take the management of charitable foundations out of the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities and vesting them in lay management. But this cannot have been the case always. We should rather say that it began to dawn upon men that although charity was part of the Law of Christ, this did not necessarily mean that all charities must be

placed under the control of the clergy or other ecclesiastical administrators. Hence we find during the later years of the fifteenth century continual instances of bequests for the poor placed in the hands of the Town Council or of boards of laymen. That this was done without any animus against the Church is proved by the fact that the same testator is found giving benefactions to foundations which are under clerical and under lay management. Out of the funds thus accumulated the Town Councils began a system of caring for the poor of the city which consisted in giving tokens which could be exchanged for so much bread or woollen cloth or shoes or wood for firing at the shops of dealers who were engaged for the purpose. How far this new and previously unheard of lay management, in what had hitherto been the peculiar possession of the clergy, had spread before the close of the fifteenth century it is impossible to say. No archæologist has yet made an exhaustive study of the evidence lying buried in archives of the mediæval towns of Germany; but enough has been collected by Kriegk¹ and others to show that it had become very extensive. The laity saw that they were quite able to perform this peculiarly Christian work apart from any clerical direction.

Another interesting series of facts serves also to show the growth of a non-ecclesiastical religious sentiment. The later decades of the fifteenth century saw the rise of innumerable associations, some of them definitely religious and all of them with a religious side, and which are unlike what we meet with earlier. They did not aim to be, like the praying circles of the Mystics or of the *Gottesfreunde*, *ecclesiolæ in Ecclesia*, strictly non-clerical or even anti-clerical. They had no difficulty in placing themselves under the protection of the Church, in selecting the ordinary ecclesiastical buildings for their special services and in employing priests to conduct their devotions; but

¹ Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter. Nach urkundlichen Forschungen und mit besonderer Beziehung auf Frankfurt a M.*, p. 161 ff. (Frankfurt, 1868.) Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit im Mittelalter*, p. 431 ff. (Stuttgart, 1854.)

they were distinctively lay associations, and lived a religious life in their own ways without any regard to the conceptions of the higher Christian life which the Church was accustomed to present to its devout disciples. Some were associations for prayer; others for the promotion of the "cult" of a special saint, like the confraternities dedicated to the Virgin Mother or the associations which spread the "cult" of the Blessed Anna; but by far the largest number were combinations of artisans, and resembled the workmen's "guilds" of the Roman Empire.

Perhaps one of the best known of these associations formed for the purpose of encouraging prayer was the "Brotherhood of the Eleven Thousand Virgins," commonly known under the quaint name of *St. Ursula's Little Ship*. The association was conceived by a Carthusian monk of Cologne, and it speedily became popular. Friedrich the Wise was one of its patrons, his secretary, Dr. Pfeffinger, one of its supporters; it numbered its associates by the thousand; its praises were sung in a quaint old German hymn. No money dues were exacted from its members. The only duty exacted was to pray regularly, and to learn to better one's life through the power of prayer. This was one type of the pious brotherhoods of the fifteenth century. It was the best known of its kind, and there were many others. But among the brotherhoods which bear testimony to the spread of a non-ecclesiastical piety none are more important than the confraternities which went by the names of *Kalands* or *Kalandsgilden* in North Germany and *Zechen* in Austria. These associations were useful in a variety of ways. They were unions for the practice of religion; for mutual aid in times of sickness; for defence in attack; and they also served the purpose of insurance societies and of burial clubs. It is with their religious side that we have here to do. It was part of the bond of association that all the brethren and sisters (for women were commonly admitted) should meet together at stated times for a common religious service. The brotherhood selected the church in which this was held, and so far as we can see the chapels of the Franciscans or of the Augustinian

Eremites were generally chosen. Sometimes an altar was relegated to their exclusive use; sometimes, if the church was a large one, a special chapel. The interesting thing to be noticed is that the rules and the modes of conducting the religious services of the association were entirely in the hands of the brotherhood itself, and that these laymen insisted in regulating their own religious observances. Luther has a very interesting sermon entitled *Sermon upon the venerable Sacrament of the holy true Body of Christ and of the Brotherhoods*, the latter half of which is devoted to a contrast between good brotherhoods and evil ones. Those brotherhoods are evil, says Luther, in which the religion of the brethren is expressed in hearing a mass on one or two days of the year, while by guzzling and drinking continually at the meetings of the brotherhood they contrive to serve the devil the greater part of their time. A true brotherhood spreads its table for its poorer members, it aids the sick or infirm, and provides marriage portions for worthy young members of the association. He ends with a comparison between the true brotherhood and the Church of Christ. Theodore Kolde remarks that a careful monograph on the brotherhoods of the end of the fifteenth century in the light of this sermon of Luther's would afford great information about the popular religion of the period. Unfortunately no one has yet attempted the task; but German archæologists are slowly preparing the way by printing, chiefly from MS. sources, accounts of the constitution and practices of many of these Kalands.

From all this it may be seen that there was in these last decades of the fifteenth and in the earlier of the sixteenth centuries the growth of what may be called a non-ecclesiastical piety which was quietly determined to bring within the sphere of the laity very much that had been supposed to belong exclusively to the clergy. The *jus episcopale* which Luther claimed for the civil authorities in his tract on the *Liberty of the Christian Man* had, in part at least, been claimed and exercised in several of the German principalities and municipalities; the practice of Christian charity and its management were being taken out of the hands of the clergy

and entrusted to the laity; and the brotherhoods were making it apparent that men could mark out their religious duties in a way deemed most suitable for themselves without asking any aid from the Church, further than to engage a priest whom they trusted to conduct divine service and say the masses they had arranged for.

4. The Humanist movement is almost beyond the scope of our inquiry. It had little or nothing to do with what may be called family or even popular religion. German Humanism owed its birth to the Italian, and the earlier Humanists all received their inspiration from the South. But it was almost, not altogether, free from the irreligion and frivolity which characterised the Italian Humanism from which it sprang, and from the beginning it took a distinctly national character. It is interesting to notice that in Germany the invention of printing, which is inseparably connected with Humanism, lent its aid from the beginning to religion, and that the earliest German printing-presses issued many more books for popular and family religious instruction and many more Bibles than editions of the classics. Most of the German Humanists had sincere desires to see a reformation of morals and an overthrow of degrading superstition. Their aim seems to have been to purify public and private life by insisting on the education of the youth of the country; and this led them to struggle earnestly for the extension and improvement of schools—high schools and colleges. It was almost insensibly that they were led into a position of antagonism to the Church, and they became the opponents of the existing state of things only when they found that their plans for a reformation of morals through education were almost invariably thwarted by those in ecclesiastical authority in their own land. The persecution of Reuchlin banded them together in opposition to the Roman Curia, and they thus became one of the forces fighting for the Reformation. But so far as religion was concerned the Humanist movement on its best side may be called thoroughly eclectic; and provided only the opportunities for education were granted and they had leave to do their best to destroy the superstition

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they scorned, the leaders would have been content to live under any form of faith. Of course many of the Humanists went very much further than this, and the tinge of paganism of a cultured sort, which distinguished the Italian Humanism, was not wanting in the German. We are informed that the leaders of the Humanist circle at the University of Erfurt were accustomed to whisper in private that there was but one God who took the varying names of Jupiter, Apollo, or Jesus, and that there was also one goddess, who was variously called Juno, Venus, Mary. Their newly-found intellectual freedom gave them a "joy of life" which led them to lay little stress on the ordinary restraints of morality, as many of their more juvenile poems show, and Luther, a staid, self-respecting young student, had good reason to shun the Humanist circle in his University and to reproach them with their "epicurean" views of life. The connexion of Humanism with the German Reformation has been greatly exaggerated; but it must be remembered that the movement was there, and that its religiously eclectic character must be taken into account.

5. There remains another type of religious life and of pious association which has not been much observed, but which existed and had its outcome in one side of the amorphous Anabaptist movement. As early as the times of Meister Eckhart, the leaders of the Mediæval Mystics had been accustomed to collect their disciples together into little praying circles; and the custom was perpetuated in the succeeding generations of the German Mystics. How these praying circles continued to exist during the latter decades of the fifteenth and earlier decades of the sixteenth century, and what forms their organisation took, it seems to be impossible to say with any accuracy. Still more obscure is their connexion with the Hussite movement; but such connexion did exist, although it is impossible to say whether these praying circles had anything to do with the secret Hussite propaganda, partly socialist and wholly anti-clerical, traces of which were to be found all over Germany in the last decades of the fifteenth

century. There is at least one curious fact which deserves mention, that a catechism for the religious instruction of the young existed in various languages, and was used among the so-called Waldenses of Savoy, among the Brethren in Bohemia, and in portions of Germany. This catechism went through several editions. It was first printed about 1498, and continued in use until 1530, and in all probability much later. Its common use shows that there must have been some intercourse between the praying circles in Savoy, Germany, and Bohemia. The school system of the Brethren of the Common Lot, who had always an intimate connexion with the *Gottesfreunde*, in all probability served to spread the praying circles which had come down from the earlier Mystics. These Brethren made great use of the newly discovered printing-press to spread small mystical writings and translations of the Scripture, which perhaps accounts for the fact that these praying circles spread among the artisans and especially among the printers of the larger German towns, such as Cologne and Nürnberg. They printed and circulated books which had been in use in manuscript among the Mystics of the fourteenth century, such as the celebrated *Masterbook*, single Sermons of Tauler, Prayers and Rules for Holy Living taken from his writings, as well as short treatises, like the *Explanation of the Ten Commandments* and other writings of the later Mystics. It is also more than probable that some of the many translations of the whole or portions of the Bible which were in circulation in Germany before the days of Luther came from these praying circles. It is at least a significant fact that the Anabaptists, who were the descendants of these associations, did not use Luther's translation of the Bible, but a much older one which had come down to them from their ancestors.

The members of these praying circles welcomed the Lutheran Reformation when it came, but they can scarcely be said to have belonged to it. In fact, the organisation of a Lutheran Church, based on civil divisions of the Empire, gave the signal for a thorough reorganisation of the members of these old associations who refused to have

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anything to do with a State Church. They formed the best side of the very mixed and very much misunderstood movement which was later called Anabaptism, and thus remained outside of the two great divisions into which the Church of the Reformation separated. This religious type existed and showed itself more especially among the artisans in the larger towns of Germany.

It must not be supposed that these five classes of religious sentiment which have been found existing during the later decades of the fifteenth and the early decades of the sixteenth centuries, can always be clearly distinguished from each other. Religious types cannot be kept distinct, but continually blend with each other in the most unexpected way. Humanism and Anabaptism seem as far apart as they can possibly be; yet some of the most noted Anabaptist leaders were distinguished members of the Erasmus circle at Basel. Humanism and delicate clinging to the simple faith of childhood blended in the exquisite character of Melancthon. Luther, after his stern wrestle with self-righteousness in the convent at Erfurt, believed that had his parents been dead he could have delivered their souls from purgatory by his visits to the shrines of the saints at Rome. The boy Mecum (Myconius) retained only so much of his father's teaching about the *free* Grace of God that he believed an Indulgence from Tetzel would benefit him if he could obtain it without paying for it. There is everywhere and at all times a blending of separate types of religious faith, until a notable crisis brings men suddenly face to face with the necessity of a choice. Such a crisis occurred during the period we call the Reformation, with the result that the leaders in that great religious revival found that the truest theology after all was what had expressed itself in hymns and prayers, revivalist sermons and in fireside teaching, and that it became their duty as theologians to give articulate dogmatic expression to what their fathers had been content to find inarticulately in the devotional rather than in the intellectual sphere of the mediæval religious life.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

THE NEW MYSTICISM.

1. *Les Mystiques dans la Littérature Présente.* Par VICTOR CHARBONNEL. (Paris, 1897.)
2. *La Vie Mystique.* Par EDOUARD SCHURÉ. (Paris, 1894.)
3. *Le Livre de la Pitié et de la Mort.* Par PIERRE LOTI. (Paris, 1902.)
4. *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard.* Par ANATOLE FRANCE. (Paris, 1902.)
5. *The Treasure of the Humble.* By MAURICE MAETERLINCK. Translated by Alfred Sutro. (London, 1901.)
6. *The Celtic Twilight.* By W. B. YEATS. (London, 1893.)
7. *Aylwin.* By THEODORE WATTS DUNTON. (London, 1898.)
8. *The Novels of Fiona Macleod.*

And other Works.

IT is not to be wondered at that the science of the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century should have had a great effect in promoting a materialistic view of the world. Let it be remembered that the discoveries of that period were all connected with a comprehensive view of the mechanism of the universe. The demonstration of the indestructibility of matter, the discovery of the great law of the correlation of forces, the Atomic Theory of Dalton, which placed chemistry upon an entirely new footing with regard to the understanding of the material structure of the world, as well as all the brilliant discoveries in astronomy and geology, tended in one direction—namely, to the view of the universe as being neither more nor less than a vast piece of mechanism, governed by laws most rigid, and controlled throughout by the cold uncompromising principles of mathematics. Still, there was the study of life, which

afforded a vast and varied field, in morphology to the disciples of Linnæus, Cuvier, and Bichât, and in physiology to the followers of Hippocrates, Harvey, and Bichât; to say nothing of the world of discovery opening up before the advocates of the cell-theory, maintained by Turpin as early as 1826, so far as regarded plant-life, and clearly established in 1839 in regard to both plants and animals, in the famous work of Schwann of Berlin. Up to this point it might seem that, however hard and mechanical might be the outward framework of the universe, there was still, in the phenomena presented by and peculiar to the living world, enough of mystery to save the mind of man from any temptation to a materialistic explanation of the origin of things. Then came the important conclusion established by Goodsir in 1845 and Virchow in 1858, that cells invariably arose from pre-existing cells; from which naturally followed the idea that protoplasm, or "the physical basis of life," was in all organisms essentially the same—an idea which, to many minds, carried with it the implication that the phenomena of life were about to range themselves with other phenomena as belonging exclusively to the physical sphere. Then, suddenly, came the astounding hypothesis of Darwin, which laid bare, as it seemed, the very secret of nature, and which showed that, once granted the existence of protoplasm, the whole ordered scene of the world's life, vegetable and animal, with all its infinite variety of form and function and character, might be merely the outcome of the operations of a force as essentially physical as gravitation. Thus, if the cell-theory tended to make physiology a branch of physics, the evolution-theory in like manner tended, at first at any rate, to reduce the phenomena of life, including all the manifestations of human thought and energy, to a mere chapter in the history of the world-order—a transient efflorescence, like the flowers and foliage of spring-time, wrought by purely natural forces working by purely mechanical means.

In the meantime, physiology, using the cell-theory as the

clue to guide it through the delicately constructed labyrinth of the human brain, arrives at the conclusion that the thought and reason of man are entirely dependent on material processes, or "changes in the neuroplasm of ganglionic cells." The psychology of Sir W. Hamilton has to be expressed anew in terms of the physiology of Carpenter. Even the most mysterious of all our mental processes, our "unconscious mental modifications," are explained as the results of the automatic working of the cerebrum, which, once set in action by our consciousness, goes on until the act of remembrance or decision shall have been completed. So now it is held that there is not any movement of the mind, not the loftiest flight of genius, not the tenderest human sentiment, not the most delicate effort of spiritual perception, with which "some cerebral change is not directly concomitant."

Space would fail me to tell of the effect upon literature and popular opinion of the hard dominance of the Materialism of the mid-nineteenth century. The organised Secularism of Bradlaugh, Holyoake, and others is too fresh in the memory of all to need description; perhaps the unorganised secularism of commerce and social life which still remains is a much more serious outcome of the same dominance. Probably there was not a book written between (say) 1830 and 1880 which did not show the influence of it; sometimes, as in the works of Ruskin and Carlyle, in rebellious scornfulness of a tyranny hated, despised, but feared; sometimes, as in the sermons of Newman and F. W. Robertson, so different in the philosophical impulse which produced them, so essentially kindred in their common contempt for merely material standards of value; sometimes also, as in the poetry of Swinburne and the novels of Hardy, in a mind and heart subdued to their environment, and frankly accepting the humiliating doctrines, though not without sad reflections (especially in the case of Hardy) on "the general grimness of the human situation."

Of the Great Twin Brethren of Victorian poetry,
L.Q.R., OCTOBER, 1903.

Browning is, of course, a sworn advocate of the divine in man. He was no student of science. Enormous as his erudition was, carefully minute and accurate his knowledge, he was a student of history and an observer of human life rather than of the progress of science. It is quite true that "Paracelsus" contains the most marvellous fore-statement of the doctrine of evolution; yet even that is a poet's prevision, not a scientist's theory. Browning is the one exception amongst the first-rank literary men of his age, and stands apart in grand isolation from the main stream of its thought and influence. Tennyson, on the other hand, was in touch with scientific investigation, following its steps with anxious solicitude. There is no doubt that the science of the mid-century, of the era of Owen and Lyell and Darwin, held him in its grip. There is no doubt that he was chilled by it, shaken by it; for a time perhaps frightened by the phantom of Nature raised by its incantations. To him,

From scarpèd cliff and quarried stone
She cries, A thousand types are gone :
I care for nothing, all shall go !

The more honour to him that in cloudy days he still
"followed the Gleam," that, like his own hero-friend,

He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them.

This was not, unfortunately, the experience of all the cultivated intellects of the period. Many, alas! lost altogether the consciousness of the presence of God, and could do nothing better than follow in the footsteps of Comte, and make the worship of Humanity their religion, like Clifford when he said :

The dim and shadowy outlines of the superhuman Deity fade slowly away from before us; and as the mist of his presence floats aside, we perceive with greater and greater clearness the shape of a yet grander and nobler figure—of Him who made all

gods and shall unmake them. From the dim dawn of history, and from the inmost depth of every soul, the face of our father Man looks out upon us with the fire of eternal youth in his eyes, and says, "Before Jehovah was, I am."

To such thinkers the age of faith appeared to have definitely closed, and human life to have lost all sense of any divine significance in its experiences. Noble spirits like Arthur Hugh Clough felt bitterly the loss of hope, yet fell back on the best that could be in a life so shorn of its greater glories :

Faith, I think, does pass, and Love ; but knowledge
abideth :

Let us seek knowledge ; the rest may come and go
as it happens.

But the influence of materialistic science reached the utmost extent of its power in France. It cannot be said that in England it made a literature ; merely that it affected and modified philosophic and literary expression powerfully but not decisively. In France, however, it created and fostered one of the mightiest and most sinister developments of the modern intellect—the so-called realistic school of fiction, led by Flaubert and sustained by the terrific force of Zola. That school is satisfied to depict, though with most imposing talent and exact knowledge and observation, the human animal. Never was human life so sordid, so devoid of higher meanings, of generous ardours, of lofty enthusiasms, as in its pages ; never was human nature so conclusively shown to be of the earth, earthy, as in these sad romances. Yet there is no doubt that they only gave expression to the all but universal feeling of the higher intellect of France that it was no more possible to believe in any spiritual destiny for man. It seemed that faith in the ideal was dead ; the conviction was felt and expressed that effort was useless, that the force of external causes could not be withstood. In France, the country of its birth, even the Religion of Humanity lost its charm, and the pathetic words of M. Littré, whilom disciple of Comte,

but now disillusioned, stand as the expression of the nation's consciousness of loss of hope :

Voltaire in old age writes in one of his letters that at the sight of a starry night he was wont to say to himself that he was about to lose that spectacle ; that, through all eternity, he should never see it more. Like him, I love to contemplate—with the reflection that it is perhaps for the last time—the starlit night, the greenness of my garden, the immensity of the sea. I go yearly to the seaside ; I went thither this year. My room opened upon the beach, and when the tide was high the waves were but a few paces from where I sat. How often did I sink into contemplation, imagining to myself those Trojan women who *pontum adspectabant flentes* ! I did not weep, but I felt that those solemn spondees best harmonized with the grandeur of that night, and with the vagueness of my own meditations.

"*Pontum adspectabant flentes* !" says Mr. Myers,¹ in commenting upon this passage. "Fit epigraph for a race who have fallen from hope, on whose ears the waves' world-old message still murmurs without a meaning : while the familiar landmarks fade backwards into shadow, and there is nothing but the sea."

The revolt against this state of affairs was sure to come. The only question was as to what form it would take. The energetic Western races were not likely to settle down into a temper of mind akin to the gloomy pessimism of the religions of the East. Indeed, it has seemed for some time as though science itself, after having illuminated so many mysterious regions of creation and of life, after having rested so long in its positive teachings, were about to enter upon mysterious regions of its own. There might, indeed, be no spiritual world behind and above the world of phenomena, but the Röntgen rays, the etheric telegraphy of Marconi, and other discoveries in the ever-widening realm of electrical science, seemed to indicate that the physical world itself was far less intelligible than had been imagined. The mysterious properties of matter have now been further illustrated by the discovery of the substance radium, and by

¹ F. W. H. Myers : Essay on "The Disenchantment of France."

the remarkable theory of Sir Oliver Lodge, by which the atom itself is declared to be by no means ultimate, but to consist of a central core surrounded in a free space, as the sun by its planets, by thousands of flashing electrons of an inconceivable minuteness. It is strange to hear chemistry itself speak the language of a kind of mysticism, as it is now forced to do; for the Atomists, from Democritus downwards, have always been at the very opposite pole of thought to the Mystics. It is not so surprising that wherever science should touch life she should become more mystical every day, and this is especially the case in bacteriology. The strange invisible world of the bacteria, wherein things we call good and things we call evil are for ever working out their destinies, the extraordinary energies of that invisible world, with its multitudinous life, continually suggest the infinite. And what shall be said of the obscure phenomena of hypnotism and telepathy, the facts in relation to which are commanding the attention of physicists like Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge? In truth, science herself tends to become dreamy, romantic, mystical; and the question in her eyes to-day is, If the known be so full of wonder and mystery, what must the unknown be?

It is curious to note in relation to these later developments, that Wordsworth himself, the least likely of mankind to concern himself with the doings of mere physical research, looked forward to the time when science should be animated by a quite different spirit from that which prevailed in his lifetime and for many a year after. He even pictured her becoming rapt, inspired, like any s^hyl or ecstatic mystic:

Then her heart shall kindle; her dull eye,
Dull and inanimate, no more shall hang
Chained to its object in brute slavery.

and, in a striking passage in the "Prefaces," he says:

If the time should ever come when that which is now called science shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transforma-

tion, and will welcome the Being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man.

One would like to think of a transfigured science leading the way into fresh regions of faith and hope. Some day the prophecy may come true. Some day the text-books of science may become as suggestive of reverence and devotion as they already are of wonder and delight in the inexhaustible riches of the world. In the meantime, it is the business of this article to assert that the poet and his kindred are indeed ready to "aid the transformation," and that there has been produced a New Mysticism, to a large extent suggested by and developed out of science, having its notes of correspondence with Neo-Platonic and Christian mysticisms of the past, and illustrating afresh the power of the human spirit to rise superior to influences tending to check its nobler aspirations.

In our study of a view of God and the world, developed out of agnostic science, we must not expect to find the Evangelical conception of a personal God and Father. What we do find, scattered among the works of representative writers in France and England, is a return to the religious pantheism of the mystical schools. Let us not forget the essential difference between the pantheism which identifies God with the universe and that which identifies the universe with God. The former has often been justly charged with being merely another form of atheism; the latter has inspired the contemplations of Plotinus and the lofty spirituality of Tauler. It is to these last that the new mystics are akin. Their pantheism is poetical and religious rather than scientific. Thus when Schuré speaks of "the soul centred in the All which is the existing Cosmos," and says that "the rational mysticism of every age is the art of finding God in oneself"—"*l'art de trouver Dieu en soi, en développant les profondeurs occultes et latentes de la conscience*"—he is not speaking the language of Giordano Bruno and Spinoza, but making return to the very thought of Plotinus, who contemplates the divine perfections in himself, and does so, not under the influence of spiritual pride,

but with the calm assurance that if one do but sound human nature to its depths there surely you will reach the being of God. And, after all, did not Christ say "the kingdom of God is within you"? The God found by the Mystics, it must be confessed, leaves something to be desired. The "intuition" of Plotinus is in Eckart "the Spark of the soul," whereby we can transcend the sensible, the manifold, the temporal, and merge ourselves in the changeless One—a God, who, to these and kindred thinkers, is a blank abstraction, above being and above attributes—in the words of Proclus, "the calm, silent, slumbering, and incomprehensible divine Darkness." Here is the true origin of the "*abîmes*" and "*profondeurs*" of M. Schuré, which are the Eternities and Immensities of Carlyle in a French translation, and have had their vogue like their English prototypes. You will find them in Anatole France; and in Pierre Loti, that most graceful, most fantastic of living French writers, they frequently occur and with the same significance, always suggesting something mystical in human life, or something weird, awful, and incomprehensible in the universe about us. Anything more truly mystical in feeling, for instance, than his descriptions in "Madame Chrysanthème" of the storm in Nagasaki harbour, and of the ancient Buddhist temple in that city, could hardly be imagined. And, indeed, the mysticism which is feeling—we would fain say feeling after God if haply it may find Him—has rarely found more pathetic utterance than in many of the books of recent French writers, which, with all their moral shortcomings, represent so distinct an effort after the Ideal. They all seem to be striving with Schuré in the closing lines of the "Song of the Modern Argonauts," to realise, as men did in simpler ages, the supremacy of soul and of imagination :

Nous croyons l'Invisible,
Nous voulons l'Impossible,
Nous cherchons le Trésor,
La vérité dernière,
Le Verbe de Lumière
Soleil—et Toison d'Or.

The volume of poetry from which these lines are taken, *La Vie Mystique*, with its exaggerated sentiment and the wild extravagance of the language in which it presents in one grand *coup d'œil* a phantasmagoric view of all the mysticisms of East and West, ancient and modern times, may be regarded as the pathetic outcry of the soul of France for recognition and for its rightful place in the national scheme of being.

The glorification of Silence which obtains in the modern French school is also Carlylean with a difference; the difference being, in this case as in the former, its kinship with the older mystical schools. Carlyle loves silence always, because it is dignified and because it is the fitting accompaniment of efficient action. Schuré loves it for the same reason as Eckart—only when it is the height of ecstasy, and then as the liberation of the mind from finite consciousness, and as the “plunge into the bosom of Black Divinity.”

A dark,
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dominion, where length, breadth, and height,
And time and space are lost.

The Silence of Maeterlinck is also of the nature of ecstasy, though any of the great emotions may induce it. As he says :

The real silence, which is greater still and more difficult of approach than the material silence of which Carlyle speaks—the real silence is not one of those gods that can desert mankind. . . . It is a thing that knows no limit, and before it all men are equal ; and the silence of king or slave, in presence of death, or grief, or love, reveals the same features, hides beneath its impenetrable mantle the self-same treasure. . . . He cannot conceive what sort of man is he who has never been silent. It is as though his soul were featureless. “We do not know each other yet,” wrote to me one whom I hold dear above all others ; “we have not yet dared to be silent together !”

In this view of Maeterlinck and others that all the great experiences of life take place in the silence of the great deep of the soul which is also God, there is a reversion to one of

the characteristic features of the German Mysticism of the fourteenth century—the doctrine of the Ground of the Soul. Perhaps no one since Tauler has made quite so much of it as Maeterlinck. Tauler of course makes it the scene of all kinds of beautiful and evangelical experiences; for, if he is pantheistic, he is also Christian to the core of his being. He says :

The ground or centre of the soul is so high and glorious a thing, that it cannot properly be named, even as no adequate name can be found for the Infinite and Almighty God. In this ground lies the image of the Holy Trinity. . . . When the mind is rightly directed, it tendeth towards this ground. . . . In this mind we are to be renewed by a perpetual bringing of ourselves into this ground. . . . Our created spirit must be united to and lost in the uncreated, even as it existed in God before its creation. . . . If the union of sun and air cannot be distinguished, how far less this divine union of the created and the uncreated Spirit ! Our spirit is received and utterly swallowed up in the abyss which is its source. Then the spirit transcends itself and all its powers, and mounts higher and higher towards the Divine Dark, even as an eagle towards the sun.

Of the mystics of the fourteenth century Ruysbroek is the one to whom Maeterlinck acknowledges himself most indebted. Ruysbroek's doctrine of the Ground of the Soul is, however, substantially the same as Tauler's, whose language on the subject I have quoted because it is simpler ; and I have ventured on so long a series of quotations because of the singular interest of the fact that a great up-rising of the human spirit in our own time should express itself in terms so strikingly similar. For the whole impulse and inspiration of the work of Maeterlinck, and of much of the writing of the modern French school, is the doctrine of the divine in man. What, for instance, is the meaning of the exquisite little story of Anatole France, *Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, but a new realisation of this view of human nature ? I quote, as perhaps laying bare the central motif of the whole story, a little scene where the old member of the Institute of France is travelling in Sicily in

the same company with a girl whom he believes to be quite vain and silly. She is, indeed, to him the representative of all that he holds in the greatest contempt in modern luxury and frivolity. She complains that she is tired of the journey, though it is through a country so rich in historical and artistic interest. She even weeps with annoyance and weariness, though she is travelling with every modern comfort.

"Madame," I said to her, "see how the ground here has been hardened and cracked by five months of torrid heat ; and yet a little white lily has pierced it." And I pointed with the end of my cane to the frail stalk which closed in a double flower. "Your soul," I added, "sterile as it may be, yet bears its white lily. And that is sufficient to enable me to believe that you are not, as you say you are, a wicked woman."

The ground of the soul may have an arid surface, but go down deep enough and you will find the divine source of beauty and charity.

Unfortunately, however, Schuré and his followers, especially Rod and Huysman, have returned to Eckart's and Tauler's mystical pantheism without also becoming their disciples in their deep devotion to Christ and in their splendid ethical ideals. They have developed instead a kind of Neo-Catholicism, which combines an indefinite belief in the Absolute and unites mystical faith with a kind of poetical sympathy with monasticism. It is remarkable also that the English Neo-Mystic, Yeats, of whom we shall speak later, has "sought refuge in the only definite faith." I do not know how the Church of Rome regards these converts and their speculations, but probably much as it regarded Scotus Erigena, that bold and independent mystical thinker of the ninth century, who was tolerated in his lifetime and condemned for his heresies after his death.

Whilst we are on the subject of the correspondences between ancient and mediæval and modern mysticism, Maeterlinck deserves special notice as an avowed disciple of the two most powerful schools of mysticism Europe has ever known — Neo-Platonism and the fourteenth-

century German Mystics. To him mysticism is much more than a formal creed; it is felt in everything he writes. The vague, sweet charm of his language, the unusualness of his attitude towards life, his dreamy sentiment, his tender melancholy, all conspire with his actual teaching to produce the effect of his influence upon many minds. He is, like all mystics, awed and hushed by the solemnity of the universe; but his favourite thought is that of the existence of a sub-conscious self in us all. It is in this "crepuscular region of the soul" that he delights to dwell. In his dramas he makes the sub-conscious selves of his characters converse together with singular effect, and it is his theory that this is what Shakespeare often does, especially in *King Lear*, in *Hamlet*, and in *The Tempest*. This is not merely the result of his pre-occupation with fourteenth-century mysticism, but partly of scientific study of the phenomena of hypnotism and suggestion and telepathy. Indeed, there is evidence that his mysticism is not so much a refuge from the tyranny of scientific materialism as the deliberate choice of a man who finds in it confirmation of countless hopes and suspicions science herself has raised within him. He says, in *The Treasure of the Humble*, that to-day the soul of man is making a mighty effort to recover its lost supremacy:

I will say nothing of the occult powers, of which signs are everywhere—of magnetism, telepathy, levitation, the unsuspected properties of radiating matter, and countless other phenomena that are battering down the door of orthodox science. These things are known of all men, and can easily be verified. And truly they may well be the merest bagatelle by the side of the vast upheaval that is actually in progress, for the soul is like a dreamer, enthralled by sleep, who struggles with all his might to move an arm or raise an eyelid.

It is now time to turn to our own country to see whether we can discern here also any reviving consciousness of the essential spirituality of the universe.

At the end of the completed volume of Lord Tennyson's poetry there are certain poems which stand apart from the

main body of his work as marked by a quite different spirit. The truth is they were conceived in an intellectual atmosphere which had already, in the closing years of the great poet's lifetime, become different from that which prevailed when the bulk of his work was done. Tennyson, during the closing years of his long career, still remained responsive to the intellectual influences which surrounded him. He had survived into the last decade of the nineteenth century, and he, the great poet of the mid-century, became, in a good sense, a *fin de siècle* poet; and some of his latest utterances breathe the spirit of the new age upon whose threshold even now we are only just standing. The poem "Vastness" sounds the stirring note of revolt against the dominant influence of materialistic science. Of course, "In Memoriam" and the Arthurian cycle of poems are in the highest sense spiritualistic; but the "Idylls of the King" are seldom or never at close grip with the questions of our day, and "In Memoriam," as we have already seen, deals with those questions somewhat sadly—they are not met, and answered, and thrown back with anything like the contemptuous confidence of "Vastness." In this impressive poem all the history of man, his deeds and thoughts, his sufferings and sins, together compose a magnificent and unanswerable argument against the humiliating thought that the life of such a being should be nothing more than

. . . a murmur of gnats in the gloom,
 . . . or a moment's anger of bees in their hive.

And "the Ring" is not only, like Browning, "very sure of the soul," but equally sure that a time is already dawning when the soul, so long depressed, shall again receive its due recognition.

The Ghost in man, the Ghost that once was Man,
 But cannot wholly free itself from Man,
 Are calling to each other thro' a dawn
 Stronger than earth has ever seen; the veil
 Is rending, and the Voices of the day
 Are heard across the Voices of the dark.

There is, indeed, abundant evidence in these poems that Tennyson, in his latest review of life and speaking with all the old haunting sweetness and imaginative power, had reached a higher confidence in the reality of the unseen and in the promise of immortality, was as devoted as ever to the ideal, and that his assurance of the final victory of love and goodness had reached an even passionate intensity. We may, in a sense, claim him as a New Mystic—as being amongst the first in a new age to give expression to the revolt of soul against the tyranny of matter—as one at least of the leaders of a new uprising of the forces of the spirit, of the ideal, against the theory that the life of man has no higher significance than that of the lowly orders from which his physical being has been evolved.

What shall we say of those who were growing up when Tennyson was growing old? Some of these are now well known: some of them are young men with their work in its beginnings. There are no great outstanding names. We seem to be living in a sort of literary twilight—whether of the evening or of the dawn events will show. Yet surely there is no lack of talent. Books are being produced in greater numbers than ever, and many of their authors aspire to be taken quite seriously as literary artists. The novels, poems, essays, and articles of the age do undoubtedly claim to be a literature. I do not desire to discuss for a moment its purely literary values. The question is, what is its attitude towards the scientific materialism of the mid-nineteenth century? One may venture to say that the old waiting upon the dictates of science has gone. The slavish terror of the religious world has gone. The Church, which was so undignified in its attitude towards geology and towards evolution, can now afford to smile with quiet good humour when the discoveries resulting from these things are put forward as the explanation of the order of the world. Gone also is the blind submission of the philosophic thinker: there is no materialistic philosophy to-day. Clifford and Grant Allen have gone. Romanes became spiritualistic before he died. Of Virchow and Haeckel, whose names

attracted great notice in England because of their early and vigorous championing of the cause of evolution, Virchow died in the faith that the substratum of all things was mind not matter, and Haeckel concludes his last great work, *The Riddle of the Universe*, with the outline of a new religion, which embodies principles of which Christianity has long been the great exponent and exemplar. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the new generation of literary men is entirely free from the old obsession. Those who think the writers of to-day hopelessly inferior to the great Victorians may at any rate be thankful that literature is no longer subject to the devitalising influence which soured the temper of Carlyle and broke the heart of Ruskin.

What, then, are the characteristics of present-day English literature? They are such as indicate a return to the spiritual side of life. Many of our writers have gone back to the old romanticism—a thoroughly healthy return. It is delightful to go away from the dreary and often morbid psychological musings of George Eliot, and the gloomy pessimism of Thomas Hardy, to the fresh pages of more recent writers. Some of these, like Stanley Weyman and Maurice Hewlett, have gone back to history for their inspiration, and scientific criticism has enabled them in many ways to better the example of their great master, Scott. Some, like Henry Seton Merriman and Anthony Hope, have applied the romantic treatment to the problems—especially the great international problems—of modern life. Speaking generally, it may be said that the new romance, like the new poetry—especially the poetry of Stephen Phillips—is based, as was the work of Scott, on the sheer interest of life in its totality, in which of course the soul and its ideals are most prominent; and, in these pages, the study of character ceases to be morbid, and proceeds upon healthy lines of the old-fashioned spiritual ideals of love and faith, chivalry and self-sacrifice. This tendency is a mystical tendency; not professedly so as with Schuré and Maeterlinck—England never has been given to extreme types of mysticism; but the essence of the thing is there—that our most attractive

writers to-day simply do not know that thought is a mere function of the grey matter of the brain, and that "the Ghost in Man" is a mere figment of the imagination—if there be an imagination !

We are, however, able to point to something much more definitely mystical than this implied recognition of the spiritual side of life, and that is the fact that of recent years there has been a return of the minds of men to symbolism. "The true mysticism," says Mr. R. L. Nettleship, "is the belief that everything, in being what it is, is symbolic of something more." This is not the whole of mysticism ; it does not include the mysticism of such men as Tauler and Ruysbroek, which is based upon a positive belief in the existence of the divine life within the human ; but it does help us to understand a movement which pervades our literature, and of which the most prominent representative is W. B. Yeats. The sublime nature-mysticism of Wordsworth has been always with us, and even Mr. Morley in the days of his militant agnosticism was trying hard to understand what the great poet meant by

The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poet's dream.

But Wordsworth's influence is stronger to-day than ever, because the symbolism in which he is so rich has become so much better understood. Of course the way for this triumph was prepared by Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and others, working amid the discouragements of the scientific era ; but the day of the symbolic mystics is the day of Theodore Watts Dunton, of Fiona Macleod, and W. B. Yeats. These writers are Celtic by race and inspiration ; and full as they are of the Wordsworthian spirit, they have not only revived the nature-mysticism of Wordsworth, they have taken us back to the dream-life of Celtic mythology, fairy-tale, and folk-lore, not in the spirit of idle curiosity, but as a protest against hard materialism. There is an essential religiousness about their protest. They have dared to set up these old tales as being truer to the facts of human life viewed largely than are the doctrines of a philosophy based

on science. One and all they stand for the soul-life, for the sacredness of the higher faculties, and for the solemnity of the universe. The hunger of the modern mind for facts, for scientific truth, they proclaim to be merely the way to fresh delusions and a new servitude, and Mr. Yeats's plea for the poet's dreams and words is valid against a scheme of life, which, in the idolatry of the actual, takes no note of the ideal :

Then no wise worship dusty deeds,
Nor seek ; for this is also sooth ;
To hunger fiercely after truth,
Lest all thy toiling only breeds
New dreams, new dreams ; there is no truth
Saving in thine own heart. Seek, then,
No learning from the starry men,
Who follow with the optic glass
The whirling ways of stars that pass—
Seek, then, for this is also sooth,
No word of theirs—the cold star-bane
Has cloven and rent their hearts in twain,
And dead is all their human truth.

Dream then !

For fair are poppies on the brow :
Dream, dream ; for this is also sooth.

A wide survey like this could not possibly have any semblance of completeness if it did not take account of some other facts pointing in the same direction. One of these is that the current philosophy of Germany, with its Lotze, with his polemic against the so-called scientific philosophy and his justification of the demands made by man's ethical, æsthetic, and religious instincts, and its Eucken, in *The Struggle for a Spiritual Life*, is profoundly spiritualistic. Another is that the two great cosmopolitan writers (as they may be called), Tolstoy and Ibsen, though hardly to be classed as mystics, have certainly done much to counteract the materialistic view of life ; and their writings have been described as forming across the horizon of Europe a "spiritual Aurora Borealis to lift the blackness of

gloomy scepticism." Another series of facts in relation to recent art tend in the same direction. The music of Wagner, produced in the middle of the century, has only of late reached its due measure of comprehension and appreciation. Schuré, in *Le Drame Musical*, treats this magnificent body of artistic production as "the fragmentary expression of the interior life in its deepest and most intense manifestation." Indeed, all the highest points of mysticism may be found illustrated in "Parsifal," "Tannhäuser," and "Lohengrin"—the solemnity of the world, the mystery of life, the search for the ideal, all are there, and with them such a passion of sympathy with humanity in the woes, temptations, tragedies, of life, as never before found artistic utterance. The music of Brahms—with its curious discordant intervals and wonderful resolutions; of Grieg—with its tender melancholy, its descriptive pieces—its pastorals and wedding-marches—full of sympathetic study of life; of Tchaichowski—with its storms of passion, its rebellious outcries, illustrating the tragic significance of human emotions and experiences—what does it all mean?

Is it your moral of Life?

Such a web, simple and subtle,
Weave we on earth here in impotent strife
Backward and forward each throwing his shuttle,
Death ending all with a knife?

Over our heads truth and nature—
Still our life's zigzags and dodges,
Ins and outs, weaving a new legislature—
God's gold just shining its last where that lodges,
Palled beneath man's usurpature.

If that was the meaning of the complicated music of Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha, that and something more—a sense of mystery in the human lot, a sense of wonder at the immensity and complexity of the world, is conveyed in these later productions, all helping in the movement of the age towards the freedom of the spirit and the ideal life. In fact, there is in them the mysticism that can be expressed in music—all that is weird, awful, terrible, majestic, in the

powers of nature ; all that is sombre, grand, or beautiful in human character and destiny.

If music has become mystical, the sister arts also tend to express more and more the yearning of the human spirit for a fuller and richer life. Possibly it may be said in time to come that the new uprising of the soul had its beginnings in the art of the pre-Raphaelites and the Impressionists, and that, of all the intellectual workers of the nineteenth century, the great artists were least touched by the scientific spirit. Personally I do not know any pictures possessing qualities of greatness which owe anything at all to science except the wonderful sea-pictures of Brett; and these are great only in the vastness of the technical knowledge they display, in the photographic accuracy of observation and delineation they possess, whilst lacking the higher qualities of the work of the imaginative artist. The truly great artists whose works interest and enthral are to-day more than ever those in whom some mystical attributes predominate, as in the pictures of Watts, Burne-Jones, and Dante Rossetti; and the works of these great men, like the music of Wagner, are more perfectly understood now than when they were first produced, because the spirit of the age is more akin to them than in former years.

In the works of these great artists and in the literary works we have rapidly passed under review we have endeavoured to show not merely the indications of a reviving sense of the all-importance of the spiritual, the infinite, and the ideal, but many curious points of correspondence with the teachings of the great mystical schools of the past—teachings which it had long been the fashion to regard with disdain. There is one point, however, in which the New Mysticism is immeasurably superior to and immeasurably nearer to the mind of Christ than any former manifestation of the same spirit, and that is in the intensity of its human sympathy. Space forbids that I should labour this point : suffice it to say that there, in the art of Watts and Wagner, in the Celticism of Yeats with its yearning tenderness towards the Irish, in the broad humanity

of Tolstoy—wherever, in fact, the new influences have penetrated, the old hardness has gone, and there has entered into the modern world a new spirit destined to carry us far in the direction of moral and humanitarian progress. Surely it is a long step forward when no man can profess and call himself a person of culture without making acquaintance with a long series of works in art and letters in which a tender and brooding humanity is perhaps the leading characteristic. The old Mystic, whether a disciple of Plotinus, or Tauler, or Boehme, usually drew himself apart from the main stream of life ; the New Mystic flashes upon that stream, so dark and turbid, the light of a sympathy which has at length discerned that it is not the nature of the God-intoxicated man alone which is akin to God, but that all human life has its sacredness, its beauty, its divineness.

And now, supposing we have here disclosed a genuine tendency, a real movement of the modern mind back again upon the mystical suggestions of former periods, is the movement of sufficient consequence to be worthy the consideration of men and women busy with the intensely practical problems of present-day religious and social progress ? Or is it merely the swing of the philosophic pendulum back once more from Aristotle to Plato ? Surely there is more in this resurgence of the mystical spirit ; surely there is a strong appeal to our sympathies in this new uprising of soul not to be crushed by

The heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,

with its iron laws and rigid framework. And if there be no great commanding intelligence at the head of the movement, no great authentic prophet, but merely a voice or voices crying in the wilderness, with no well-defined, clear message to deliver, let us remember that these men are leaders—such leaders as we have now, and that what is said by them to-day may be said by multitudes to-morrow. Their presence gives us good reason to hope that we may soon find ourselves in the midst of a great spiritual revival. Our

business through many a cloudy day has been to maintain the essential spirituality of the nature of man. The Time-Spirit has been our great enemy, and life amidst the triumphs of materialistic science has tended steadily downwards towards vulgarity, ugliness, and grasping selfishness. The wind, even this wind, bloweth where it listeth, and before you realise that the rude blast has become a subdued murmur, the balmy breath of spring may be around you and the time of the singing birds may have arrived. The Time-Spirit is but a wind of earth; and after it has blown chill from God-forsaken wastes and barren steppes, it may come warm again from regions shone upon by the Divine Sun. I cannot better conclude this article, than by quoting, in a spirit of faith in their lofty truthfulness, some words used by that writer in whom the New Mysticism becomes most definite, and from that work of his in which his faith is expressed in clearest terms—*The Treasure of the Humble* :

A spiritual influence is abroad that soothes and comforts; and the sternest, direst laws of nature yield here and there. Men are nearer to themselves, nearer to their brothers; in the look of their eyes, in the love of their hearts, there is deeper earnestness and tenderer fellowship. Their understanding of women, children, animals, plants—nay, of all things—becomes more pitiful and more profound. . . . Certain it is that there passes not a day but the soul adds to its ever-widening domain. . . . A spiritual epoch is perhaps upon us.

W. BURKITT DALBY.

PRINCIPLES OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

1. *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas.* By the late SIR HENRY JENKYN, K.C.B.; with a Preface by SIR COURTENEY ILBERT, K.C.S.I. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1902.)
2. *Colonial Government : An Introduction to the Study of Colonial Institutions.* By PAUL S. REINSCH, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. (New York : The Macmillan Company. 1902.)
3. *The Colonial Office List*, 1903.

A SPECIAL interest attaches to the first-named of the works under review, owing to the untimely death of its author shortly after its completion. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1863 after a distinguished university career, Sir Henry Jenkyns was shortly after entrusted by the Statute Law Committee with the preparation of the Chronological Table of and Index to the Statutes of the Realm, a task involving enormous labour and the most minute research. In 1868 he was appointed Assistant Parliamentary Counsel, and in 1886 succeeded Lord Thring as Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, a post from which he only retired a year before his death in 1899. Sir Courteney Ilbert's Preface contains some interesting testimony from various of the leading members of both political parties with whom his work brought him in contact, respecting his character, abilities, and unflagging industry ; and among the numerous important measures which he drafted, or helped to draft, during his thirty years' service, were Mr. Forster's Education Act, the Ballot Act, the Army Act of

1881, the Irish Church and Land Acts, the Local Government Acts, and Sir William Harcourt's Finance Act. He was thus especially qualified to deal with the legal and constitutional aspects of British rule and jurisdiction beyond the seas, and his work—though anticipated on some points by Mr. Todd's *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*,¹ and Mr. Tarring's *Chapters on the Law relating to the Colonies*, which formed the subject of notice in this Review a few years ago²—must long remain a standard authority on the subject.³

Professor Reinsch's book, which, as its title implies, is of a more elementary character, is primarily designed for American readers. The United States of America now find themselves, for the first time in their history, in possession of an extensive colonial domain, and in order to deal satisfactorily with this new problem it is, as Professor Reinsch points out, "the natural and the only wise course to turn to the experience of other nations who have had similar problems to face."⁴ To enable them to study this experience he has, therefore, provided his fellow-countrymen with an excellently arranged outline of the colonial policy of European powers, and his able and comprehensive survey of the motives and methods of colonial expansion, and the general forms and the administrative organisation of colonial government, makes his work a useful supplement to that of Sir Henry Jenkyns.

The almost simultaneous publication⁵ of these two

¹ See Second Edition, edited by his son, Mr. A. H. Todd, 1894.

² Second Edition, of 1893. See REVIEW, July, 1897, Art. VII., p. 347.

³ The revision of Sir Henry Jenkyns' work for publication was undertaken by Sir Courteney Ilbert, with the assistance of Mr. Graham Hanson, who had helped the author in its preparation. The passing of the Australian Commonwealth Act in 1900, while the work was in progress, necessitated, however, an extension of the chapter on the self-governing colonies—a task undertaken by Mr. J. A. Simon, who is solely responsible for it, though it is based on the materials supplied by Sir Henry Jenkyns himself.

⁴ Pages 12, 13.

⁵ Sir Henry Jenkyns' work preceded that of Professor Reinsch by three or four months.

works in London and New York is noteworthy as one of the many recent indications of the striking change which has been gradually taking place during the last half-century, both in the attitude of publicists and statesmen, and also in public opinion, with respect to the question of colonisation. It is curious to contrast the recent utterances of the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary, or of Lord Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey, on Imperial Federation, with speeches like that of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, in 1850,¹ in which he looks forward to the "independence of the colonies," or that of Lord Stanley, fourteen years later,² in which he stated that "we know that British North America and Australia must, before long, be independent states," and that "we have no interest except in their strength and well-being." Bright, in speaking of the North American Provinces, on 28th February, 1867, said that "if they are to be constantly applying to us for guarantees for railways and for grants for defence, then I think it would be far better for them and for us—cheaper for us and less demoralising for them—that they should become an independent state"; and Disraeli, destined to be the pioneer in the movement for Imperialism, once declared that "these wretched colonies will be independent too in a few years, and are millstones round our necks." The grant of a charter of incorporation in 1882 to the Royal Colonial Institute, founded fourteen years earlier to oppose these views,³ and the formation of the Imperial Federation League in 1885, mark the turning-point of public opinion on the subject; but it is only within the last decade, and more especially since the demonstration, through the Boer War, of the loyalty and devotion of the colonies, that the nation at large has begun to realise that separation from

¹ February 8.

² October 9, 1864.

³ This opposition was begun as early as 1830, by John Stuart Mill; Wakefield, author of *The Art of Colonisation*; Dr. Hinds, Dean of Carlisle; and Mr. Charles Butler, M.P., who founded "The Society for Promoting Systematic Colonisation" in that year.

them may be as injurious to our interests as it would now be derogatory to our honour.

And it is important to bear in mind that the old policy of *laissez faire* respecting its colonies was not peculiar to Great Britain, but—owing chiefly to the fact that their political energies were engrossed by their internal struggles and developments—was also adopted by all the leading European Powers, and has now been similarly abandoned by them all. The French Liberals and political economists, from J. B. Say to Frederic Passy and Yves Guyot, were almost unanimous in under-estimating the importance of colonial possessions and discouraging colonial enterprise; and it was not till the catastrophe of the Franco-Prussian war had forced the nation to seek for opportunities of redeeming its prestige in new realms, that France began to increase her colonial domain by the addition of large areas in Northern Africa and Indo-China, and to regard her costly colonial empire as a means of regaining economic strength and national importance.¹ Bismarck, the founder of the German Empire, regarded colonial politics as a waste of national energy; but he was forced before the close of his career to resort to political interference in order to protect German merchants in Africa, and after the Delimitation Agreement of 1890 had made German rule in Africa an established fact, the German people, under the leadership of the present Emperor, eagerly entered into the competition for colonial empire.² Russia, with whom the acquisition of fresh territory is indeed no new phenomenon, has during the last decade developed a marked change in the character of her expansion by her rapid advance in Central Asia and her occupation of Manchuria. Among less important States, Italy³ has become

¹ The total area thus added during the last thirty years exceeds 693,000 square miles, with a population of over 30,000,000.

² The total area of the German colonies and dependencies acquired since 1890 is 1,021,575 square miles, with a population of between nine and ten millions.

³ Italy and France have given recent proof of the desire for colonial expansion by their agreement of last year respecting Tripoli and Morocco.

a colonial, and Belgium a quasi-colonial, power within the last twenty years, and both of them proved themselves as ready as the great European Powers and the United States to take advantage of the possibilities for expansion offered by the threatened disruption of the Chinese Empire in 1900. Spain—at whose expense the United States have acquired their new colonial territories—Portugal, and Holland display an equally strong determination to maintain and, if possible, extend their foreign possessions; and the close of the nineteenth century has thus witnessed the opening of a new era in the history of colonisation which, though it has none of the elements of adventure and romance attaching to the great period inaugurated four hundred years ago by the discovery of the New World, may prove scarcely less important in its results. Though Britain, the last of the European States to profit by that discovery, has succeeded in acquiring a colonial empire far exceeding, both in its resources and extent, that of any of her competitors, these competitors—some of whom have already ousted her from her own colonial markets—are now exhibiting renewed activity in the struggle. In addition to this, the question of closer union with her self-governing colonies—the most important portion of her dominions—has now become one of the gravest importance, and it may, therefore, be of interest to consider, with the aid of the works under review, the modern developments which political and economic progress have produced in the old motives and methods of colonial enterprise in relation to our own colonial system.

1. The primary object of colonial enterprise still remains, as it has always been, the acquisition of fresh territory, but under the old colonial system such territories were necessarily valued almost entirely on account of the revenue which could be extracted from them by the State which conquered or annexed them. The imperious demand for room, which constitutes one of the most striking features of our age, did not exist in Europe when the New World was discovered, and the trade and internal resources of the European nations by whom it was first exploited were only

partially developed. British colonisation did not begin till the time of the Stuarts, and the emigration which led to the founding of the American colonies was a religious exodus due to the harshness of the Anglican Church, and ceased for almost a century after the meeting of the Long Parliament. Emigration in the modern sense of the term did not begin till after the Peace of 1815, and it is only through the striking increase of population and the growth of commerce during the last century that colonial possessions have acquired an entirely new value as outlets for the surplus population and markets for the manufactures of the parent State. And this old theory with respect to the utility of its colonies naturally affected the relations of the State towards their inhabitants. The old American colonies were regarded primarily as helps to British trade rather than seats of European civilisation, and their inhabitants, though they enjoyed comparative freedom and possessed representative assemblies, were subjected to stringent regulations with respect to exports and imports, and more especially as regards manufactures, the more refined of which were reserved for the benefit of the merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom. American independence, which was the direct outcome of this system, coupled with the subsequent introduction of free trade, prepared the way for the downfall of the old colonial policy and the creation of the self-governing colonies by the grant of responsible government, extended successively to those in North America between 1846 and 1855, those in Australasia between 1852 and 1893, and to the Cape and Natal in 1892 and 1893 respectively. And though this concession was made largely with the view of facilitating a separation then deemed inevitable, the remarkable progress of the colonies resulting from it has only served to cement still further their union with the mother country, by demonstrating the truth of Adam Smith's contention that "the British Empire would afford within itself an immense internal market for the produce of all its different provinces."

Though it never relinquished its hold of territory when

once acquired, until forced to do so, the State did little towards laying the foundation of the old colonial empires beyond ratifying the acts of its agents. These empires originated almost entirely in individual initiative,—armed exploring expeditions, like those of Cortez and Sir Humphrey Gilbert; mercantile enterprise, such as that of the founders of the British and Dutch East India Companies; and the spirit of religious proselytism which produced missionaries like Francis Xavier, and, together with the love of adventure and the hope of gain, to some extent also inspired all the conquerors of the New World. In Spanish and Portuguese colonisation the missionary and the soldier worked hand in hand, and other European nations exhibited the same combination of motives. The patent granted by Louis XIV. to the French Company of the West, in 1664, contained a provision that as “the glory of God is the chief object in view, the company is required to supply its possessions with a sufficient number of priests, and diligently to exclude all teachers of false doctrine.” Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who annexed Newfoundland, the first British colony in America, declared that “the sowing of Christianity must be the first intent of such as shall make any attempt at foreign discovery”; and in a sermon preached to celebrate the foundation of the Virginia Company, the minister, Crashaw, insisted upon the duty of the colonists to bring the savages within the fold of Christianity. The chief object of the early Spanish colonial leaders was to acquire, in the shortest possible time, the gold and other precious products of the American mines; but Portuguese, Dutch, and French colonial enterprise was far more commercial in character, and the greater part of the British Empire has been acquired through the efforts of merchant adventurers, the first of whom, owing to the later period at which they began their operations, were able to utilise the experience of those of other nations. The sole purpose of the merchant, however, whatever his nationality, was to obtain the products of foreign countries for sale in the home market, and the commercial policy of the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries was limited to ensuring that all commercial produce which could be profitably employed there should be shipped to the mother country.

Time has, however, effected a great transformation in the relative importance and *modus operandi* of all these factors of colonial expansion. The explorer and the missionary still perform their parts as the pioneers of colonisation with the same courage and devotion as their more famous predecessors ; but they are no longer recognised as agents of the State, which, though as ready as formerly to utilise the results of their labours, has long ceased to give them any direct encouragement. The work of the former is confined to the collection of geographical and scientific information ; while that of the latter is frequently thwarted by the antagonism and distrust of the Government official and the trader, who regard it as calculated to arouse native hostility, a hostility, however, often due to the fear lest the missionary should prove to be the forerunner of the soldier.

Commerce, the value of which as a colonising agency was not fully recognised by the State till the seventeenth century, has, on the other hand, become the dominant factor in modern colonial policy ; and instead of being dependent, as formerly, on the produce obtainable from native populations, it now derives its chief profit from what it can sell to them. The industrial revolution which has been gradually transforming economic conditions throughout the world during the nineteenth century has not only enormously increased the purchasing capacity of European nations, but also developed that of their colonial possessions ; and while the primary object of the European merchant is the search for new markets, that of commercial expansion is the disposal of the surplus produce of European industry. On the other hand, the fact that the fertile soil of sparsely-peopled colonies now produces sufficient food to supply both their own needs and those of a Parent State, whose agricultural resources have ceased to maintain its constantly increasing population, has materially enhanced the commercial value of the former ; and in addition to this, the

diversion of capital from home to foreign investments, or, as Professor Reinsch terms it, "*capitalistic expansion*," which is one of the most recent developments of the industrial revolution, is producing important changes in the methods of colonisation. One of the most noteworthy results of the high position which Great Britain has attained during the last century as an industrial and a manufacturing centre has been the accumulation of an abundance of capital which has been profitably invested in all quarters of the globe, including countries from which her manufactures were excluded by hostile tariffs, with the result that, as Professor Reinsch says, "a greater part of the industrial mechanism of the world is controlled from London."¹ As other nations have not been slow to follow her example, capital has everywhere become indifferent to nationality, and as security and fair returns are its main *desideratum*, investors in foreign securities everywhere unite in supporting the extension of responsible and equitable government to undeveloped regions. Capital, moreover, is no longer satisfied, as was the merchant under the old *régime* of commercial enterprise, with trade carried on from the deck of a vessel or factories on the sea-coast, but finds more remunerative employment in the exploitation of mines and forests, the construction of railways, and the establishment of large plantations and factories worked by expensive and complicated machinery. Such operations necessitate the extension of political control over the country in which they are undertaken; and while "*capitalistic expansion*" has thus become one of the most potent forces in the present movement for colonial expansion, it also constitutes one of the strongest bonds between the mother country and its colonies, the whole financial system of many of which, especially those having responsible government, is largely dependent on British capital.

Lastly, the State, which has now become, to an extent hardly conceivable under the old *régime*, the exponent of

¹ *Colonial Government*, p. 82.

the national will, can no longer allow the nature and limits of its colonial domain to be determined by the enterprise of its more adventurous subjects, but has been forced by modern economic developments to endeavour, as guardian of the national interests, continually to extend the territorial sphere of the national activities, and to base its foreign policy on the requirements of the merchants and capitalists who are exploiting its foreign possessions. The control of dépôts of trade, coaling stations, and routes of communication has therefore become of greater importance to it than the possession of wide tracts of territory, and considerations of this nature have led, among other instances, to the acquisition by Great Britain, not only of the Cape of Good Hope, and the control of the Suez Canal, but also of otherwise valueless possessions, such as Aden, Socotra, Gibraltar, and Cyprus; to Russia's foundation of Vladivostock and acquisition of Port Arthur; and to the German acquisition of the Caroline Islands and Samoa. This general increase of colonial enterprise emanating directly from the State has happily been coincident with a growing recognition among European Powers of the benefits of international action for the settlement of questions involving their common interests, and many serious conflicts which might otherwise have arisen have been avoided by the settlement, at the Berlin Conference of 1885, of the law of occupation of legally unoccupied territory. Formerly any symbolical act of appropriation, such as hoisting a flag or making a solemn proclamation—the methods chiefly employed by the Spaniards for the acquisition of South America—was sufficient to establish a valid claim in this respect, and the English Crown based its claim to North America on the simple fact that Sebastian Cabot had sighted the coast from his ship.¹ It is now, however, provided by the Congo Act, adopted by the Conference, that mere symbolical occupation is insufficient to constitute a valid claim to new territory; that notice of its occupation and

¹ European nations which established a station on the sea-coast asserted a right to the entire hinterland.

of the creation of a protectorate must be given to all Colonial Powers; and that corporeal possession, together with the successful establishment of control and the continued maintenance of law and order throughout the whole territory claimed, is necessary to the acquisition of a recognised right to it. And further evidence of this new tendency in modern colonial enterprise is to be found, not only in common action by the great Powers, such as the decisions of the Brussels Conference of 1890, respecting the suppression of the slave trade, and the agreement by a treaty of 1900 to constitute a large portion of Central and South Africa an international game preserve, but also in various treaties between individual States by means of which vast tracts of territory in Africa, Asia, and Oceania have been divided amongst the nations of Europe as "spheres of influence" without a single appeal to arms. "Spheres of influence" are defined by Professor Reinsch as territories within which a State, on the basis of treaties with neighbouring Continental Powers, enjoys the exclusive power of exercising political influence, and concluding treaties of protection, of obtaining industrial concessions, and of eventually bringing the region under its direct control.¹

Their establishment is usually followed by that of protectorates of petty States or tribal groups comprised in them, a system which, though in practice long ago largely adopted in India, is an equally modern conception in international law. In Asia, however, owing to the greater importance of the States affected by them, these modes of territorial acquisition have proved more difficult of adoption than in Africa. Claims to spheres of influence, such as that of Great Britain with respect to Southern Persia and the littoral of the Persian Gulf, and of Russia with respect to

¹ *Colonial Government*, p. 103. Among the numerous treaties above referred to may be mentioned those of 1885 and 1886 between Germany and Great Britain as to South Africa and the Pacific; the Franco-German treaties of 1885 as to Togo and Kamerun; the Anglo-French agreement of 1890 as to Algeria, the Niger, Sokoto, and Madagascar; and that of 1899 fixing the boundaries of the Soudan.

the whole region north of Teheran, which have never been substantiated by a delimitation agreement, do not exclude the claims of other Powers ; and the absence of any treaties among the claimant Powers renders the non-alienation agreements respecting various of its provinces made by China with Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and Japan, equally ineffective in this respect.

2. Owing to the greater extent and variety of its foreign possessions, Great Britain has of necessity taken a more prominent part in, and is also more closely affected by, the modern developments of colonial expansion than any other European State. The total area of these possessions exceeds eleven million square miles, and their population is four hundred millions ; while those of France, which come next to them in size, are only four million square miles in extent, with a population of sixty millions. While, moreover, the colonial empires of other European States comprise only Crown colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence, that of Great Britain includes in addition the Indian Empire, the area of which exceeds that of the German colonies by nine hundred thousand square miles, as well as numerous self-governing colonies, covering about seven million square miles—an area exceeding the combined areas of the French and German foreign possessions by nearly two million square miles.

Sir Henry Jenkyns classifies the component parts of the British Colonial Empire under the two heads of "British Possessions"—the technical legal term¹ for every part of the King's dominions outside the United Kingdom forming a separate community with a local legislature of its own ; and "British Protectorates"—a term technically including spheres of influence—which he defines as countries which are not within the King's dominions, but the foreign affairs of which are under his exclusive control.² The first class

¹ Under the Interpretation Act, 1889.

² *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, pp. 1, 163. The author also includes, as a *third* class of areas under British jurisdiction, "countries and communities outside these possessions"—i.e. non-Christian

comprises eleven self-governing and thirty-three Crown colonies, and three possessions which are not colonies¹—the Indian Empire, a dependency acquired partly by cession and partly by conquest; the Channel Islands, the sole fragment of the Duchy of Normandy attached to the British Crown²; and the Isle of Man, the lordship of which was originally granted to the Earl of Derby, and repurchased from his descendants by the Crown in 1765. The second class consists of four groups,—the Indian Protectorates, including Arab tribes near Aden, the Somali Coast, the Maldives, and various islands attached to Mauritius; the Malay Protectorates, comprising the Federated Malay States, British North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak; the African Protectorates, comprising British Central, East, and South Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Basutoland, and British Bechuanaland; and the Pacific group of various protected islands.³ And hardly any two of these possessions or protectorates stand in the same relation to the Home Government either as regards the instruments of their constitution or their forms of government. The former comprise imperial statutes, orders in council, letters patent, colonial acts, a governor's commission, or a combination of all these. The latter range from the absolute control exercised by the Mother country over all domestic law and institutions in possessions the inhabitants of which are kept in subjection by force, to the absolute freedom extended to colonies in which it only

countries like Turkey, where British consuls exercise a judicial and coercive jurisdiction in addition to the ministerial functions which they discharge in European and Christian countries. For an account of this interesting branch of the subject, see p. 148, *et seq.*

¹ The term "*colony*" is used both in Acts of Parliament and popularly to denote any British possession except British India, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man.

² *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, p. 37.

³ Other places in the Pacific have been now made part of colonies, such as the Cook's Islands added to New Zealand, and Norfolk Island attached to New South Wales; and New Guinea is now a separate colony administered under the Government of Queensland.

regulates foreign affairs, and all the domestic institutions, civil, moral, and religious, are regulated by the inhabitants.

Thus there are two or three distinct types of protectorates. Where there is an organised government under a Sovereign capable of making a treaty, and the protected State has more or less distinct boundaries, a British officer, called a Resident, advises in all matters of government, and the British Government, while abstaining from direct interference with internal administration, undertakes to maintain internal as well as external peace. Where there is no organised government, but a petty chief governs his own tribe or a group of tribes, the general government of the country and the maintenance of peace are entrusted to a Commissioner or Consul-General, who, though there is no legislature or exercise of judicial functions for the natives, requires the chiefs to observe certain rules, as for example the prohibition of war and slave-raiding, in governing their own tribes. In some cases, again, such as the protectorates over Socotra, Aden, and the Maldive Islands, the interference of the British Government is so small that it may be disregarded; and, lastly, in the case of the Chartered Companies,¹ there is a protectorate of one or other of the first two types, under the organised government framed by the company, which is in its turn subordinate to the British Government.

The Indian Empire, again, differs from every other British possession, both in its greater population and extent of territory, its ancient civilisations and religions, the variety of its languages and customs, and its intermixture of barbarous with highly-organised communities; and also in the fact that it comprises not only British India, which is in the King's dominions, but also 650 native states under his suzerainty, exercised through the Governor-General, the sovereigns of some of which represent dynasties as ancient as that of the British Crown. The central executive of British India has, as the paramount authority,

¹ There are now only two chartered companies in existence—the British North Borneo Company and the British South Africa Company.

powers outside the British dominions which are not granted to that of any other British possession—powers of making treaties, acquiring territory, and practically making war and peace—and also powers derived, not from the British Crown, but by succession from the sovereigns whom the East India Company and the British Crown have displaced. Its local government, moreover, is of the federal type, the legislative and administrative powers being distributed between the Central Government—the Governor-General in Council, in whom is invested the direction and control of the civil and military government of the Indian Empire—and the local governments, which vary according to the provinces, the Governors of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies being appointed by the Home Government, while other provinces are under Lieutenant-Governors or Chief Commissioners appointed by the Governor-General from among Indian officials. On the other hand, the Government of the Indian Empire is much more regulated and its executive and legislative powers are more restricted by Imperial Acts, and in practice the Home Government, through Parliament and the Secretary of State, exercises much more control over the details of administration than it does in a self-governing colony. It is, however, in the varying degrees of control exercised by the Imperial Parliament, on the one hand over the different classes of Crown colonies, and, on the other, over the self-governing as distinguished from the Crown colonies, that the remarkable diversity of our colonial system is most apparent.

Twenty-seven of the thirty-three Crown colonies have representative institutions, while in the remaining six¹ the legislative power is delegated to an officer representing the Government. In eighteen of the former class, however, the legislative council is nominated by the Crown,² while

¹ Gibraltar, Labuan, St. Helena, Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Basutoland.

² British New Guinea, Ceylon, the Falklands, Fiji, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Grenada, Hong Kong, Lagos, Orange River Colony, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles Islands, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Turk's Islands, and British Honduras.

in the remainder it is partly elected¹; and a further element of diversity is to be found in the fact that in the case of seven of the Crown colonies² the Crown has waived the right which it has reserved of legislating by Order in Council for all the others. All the Crown colonies, however, are under the control of a Governor, who is responsible to and acts directly upon the instructions of the Home Government, and, even where there is a representative assembly, appoints all the ministers, who are responsible to him alone. Their local parliamentary institutions, therefore, differ essentially from those of the self-governing colonies, which are based upon the most important feature of the British constitution—the supremacy of the legislature.

A self-governing colony has not merely a control over local taxation and an influence over legislation, exercised by a popularly elected chamber, but also responsible government. The executive, as in the Mother country, is responsible to the legislature, and continues in office only so long as it commands its confidence; and as the ministry is responsible for the maintenance of order and not the Governor, the latter has far less responsibility than in a Crown colony. And this fundamental characteristic of the self-governing colonies constitutes their chief divergence from all foreign systems; as, for example, that of the United States, where the executive is in no sense dependent on the legislature, the President being elected by the people and appointing ministers who are never members of the legislature, need not enjoy the confidence of a majority in it, and are responsible only to him. It is, moreover, the more notable on account of its informal origin. In the North American colonies, where it was first established, responsible government practically dates from the instructions of Lord Russell to Lord Elgin, in 1847, to act on the advice of the Executive Council and to select as

¹ British Guiana, Malta, Mauritius, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands.

² Basutoland, Barbados, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, British Honduras, and the Leeward Islands.

its members persons possessing the confidence of the Assembly ; and during the decade, 1846-1855, representative institutions, dating back in the case of the old Canadian provinces to 1791, were thus silently transformed without constitutional change into a system of representative government. "The genius of Earl Grey," says Sir Henry Jenkyns, "not only devised for the greater colonies a system of government which reproduced as nearly as possible the external features of our own, but (in spite of the restrictions which a written constitution tends to inspire) breathed into the copy the inner essence of the original—the possibility of silent constitutional growth."¹ Much of the autonomous system of government in the colonies is thus still based, as in the Mother country, on custom. Many rules which remain unwritten conventions in the Mother country, as for example those relating to money bills, are, on the other hand, expressly defined in colonial instruments of constitution ; while various unwritten conventions having no counterpart in the Mother country have been developed in the colonies and are growing into constitutional rules, such as the payment in every colony except West Australia of members of the Lower House, and of members of the Upper House in many others.² And the influence of this independent constitutional growth is further evidenced by the different forms which intercolonial federation has assumed in British North America and in Australasia. Under the British North America Act, 1867,³ the constituent parts of the federation, whatever their original status, became provinces, the legislatures of which are limited to the exercise of powers specifically delegated to them, the residue being vested in the Dominion Parliament ; and the provincial lieutenant-

¹ *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, p. 59.

² West Australia, Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales excepted. Some colonies, again, such as Cape Colony and Natal, allow Ministers' audiences in both Houses, though they vote only in that to which they belong.

³ 30 & 31 Vict. c. 13.

governors are appointed and dismissed, and liable, as regards their assent to provincial legislation, to be overruled by the Governor-General in Council. Under the Commonwealth of Australia (Constitution) Act, 1900,¹ the six federated states composing the Commonwealth remain self-governing colonies, the federal legislation having only those powers which are expressly conferred on it, and the Governor of each state is, as heretofore, appointed by and responsible to the Crown. The Australian thus approximates more nearly than the Canadian constitution to that of the United States, but the resemblance extends little beyond what is common to all forms of federation, since the Government of the United States has no control over the Governors—who, like the President, are elected by the people—the legislatures, or the administration of the individual states, except for the purpose of enforcing the federal laws governing the militia and suppressing insurrection.

Owing to the large amount of internal freedom which they enjoy, it is customary to speak of the self-governing colonies as being connected with the Mother country only by "the silken thread of sentiment," and to ignore the fact that they are, like every other British possession, united to it both by the legislative link of the Imperial Parliament and also by the executive and judicial link of the Crown. The legislative supremacy of Parliament over the whole of the British dominions is complete and undoubted in law, though for practical and constitutional reasons it abstains from exercising it; and it may be noted that, though Parliament expressly abandoned the right to tax the old American colonies by 18 Geo. IV. c. 12, and it is now a recognised constitutional rule that the direct control of the finances of a possession rests with its own Government, it still possesses the power of taxation. Were it to violate this constitutional rule, any tax which it might impose on a colony would be valid in law and enforceable by colonial and imperial courts, and in some exceptional cases, such as colonial lighthouses,

¹ 63 & 64 Vict. c. 12.

a charge very similar to a tax has in point of fact been imposed. So, too, though for similar reasons the Imperial Parliament never legislates for the internal government of a possession except where imperial policy or interests are affected, recourse must be had to it where an imperial act regulating the constitution of a colony requires modification, or where legislation is required to take effect beyond its territories, as, for example, in matters connected with extradition, bankruptcy, bigamy, and offences committed at sea.

Again, the supreme executive power in every British possession is vested in the Crown, though it differs from that exercised by it as the chief executive power in the United Kingdom or the whole empire, in the fact that the administrative acts in a possession are done upon the advice of different ministers, namely, the local government of the possession. The governor—whose powers and position, however, differ considerably in different classes of British possessions—is appointed in every case by the King, in whose name, or in that of the governor as his representative, all administrative and judicial acts are done; and the Crown has also a legislative power in many possessions, the Home Government, apart from what may be done by the Imperial Parliament, acting by Order of the King in Council, Letters Patent under the Great Seal, instruments issued under the Royal Sign Manual, or by the direction of one of the five principal Secretaries of State. In British possessions the Crown thus forms part of a different legislature from the United Kingdom, and though in some of them—especially those, such as India, having no representative assembly—laws are enacted by the Governor and the legislative council, in others, including almost all the self-governing colonies and some of the Canadian provinces, they are enacted by the King, by and with the advice and authority of the two Houses of the local legislature, his assent to bills being given by the Governor on his behalf, and, if they purport to be enacted by him, in his name. Lastly, the Crown has at common law sole power, with the

consent of Parliament, of raising and regulating forces by sea and land throughout his dominions; and though the regular troops of the United Kingdom formerly maintained in several of the colonies have been gradually withdrawn since 1870, it is only primarily in virtue of Imperial Legislation¹ that the colonial legislatures are enabled, with the approval of the King in Council, to raise the local forces that have replaced them.

In addition to the modes above indicated, the authority of Parliament and the Crown can be exercised in a British colony with respect to its judicial arrangements, its external affairs, and its relations with other communities.

As regards the first point, the judges in all British possessions except the self-governing colonies are appointed by the Home Government, and in every British possession they are removable by the Governor and Council, subject to an appeal to the King in Council, for absence, neglect, or misbehaviour. The jurisdiction of the courts, most of which were established by charter under the Great Seal, are limited to the possession and its territorial waters, except where an Imperial Act has conferred a wider jurisdiction. All writs run, and all proceedings are carried on in the King's name; and an appeal lies to him in Council from the decision of every colonial court, though certain limitations in this respect have been recently made in the case of Australia by the Commonwealth Act of 1900. With respect to *private* law, each British possession is a separate country, just as Scotland or Ireland is separate from England; but any conflict of laws which may thus arise between a British possession and England, or between two British possessions, is limited by the supervision of the Home Government over local legislation, and also by the tendency of British possessions to make their private laws agree with the English law, especially in commercial matters.

¹ 28 & 29 Vict. c. 14, passed in 1865; 51 & 52 Vict. c. 32, 1888. There have, however, been various colonial Acts on the subject, *e.g.* New South Wales Acts, No. 19 of 1871; Canadian Militia Act, 1886, 49 Vict. c. 11; and Burgher Force Act, No. 7, of 1878, in Cape Colony.

The Imperial Parliament also necessarily initiates all legislative action respecting external affairs, such as the operation of treaties ; the maintenance of neutrality in wars between foreign countries ; the prosecution of crimes by foreigners on foreign ships in territorial waters ; the extradition of criminals ; and the vesting of the property of bankrupts in a trustee or creditors. So, too, the slave trade is prohibited throughout the British Empire by an Imperial Act¹ as part of general imperial policy, though the maintenance of the general principles of English law in British possessions is usually effected by disallowance of legislation contrary to them rather than by positive legislation of this description. A coin struck in a British possession cannot *ipso facto* be a legal tender in any other part of the British dominions unless made so by Imperial authority or special legislation in such part ; and merchant shipping is mainly regulated by Imperial Acts, though these expressly authorise colonial legislatures to legislate for their own coasting trade.

The most important subject for the exercise of Imperial authority, and one which is just now especially deserving of attention, is, however, the relations of a British possession with other communities, whether part of the British dominions or of foreign countries, including its defence against foreign enemies. Regarded from an international point of view, the British possessions are not independent political societies, but parts of the British Empire ; and it may be noted that, as pointed out by Sir Henry Jenkyns, the term Imperial Federation, as applied to that Empire, is in a strict sense a contradiction in terms. Each of the members of a federation has a share in its central supreme power ; but the Government and people of a British possession have no direct share in the supreme power of the British Empire as represented by the Imperial Parliament and the Home Government² since they have no direct influence in the selection of ministers or the adoption of any particular

¹ 5 Geo. IV. c. 113.

² That is, the king as advised by the Ministers of the United Kingdom.

policy. British possessions, therefore—though the self-governing colonies and British India are, according to constitutional practice, to some extent treated as such—are not members of a federation, but subordinate members or dependencies of an empire.¹ As such they are entitled to the protection of the Home Government, both in a military and diplomatic sense ; but, on the other hand, their local governments have no direct communication with any foreign government, and in the relations between one British possession and another all formal communications pass through the Home Government. It is now the constitutional practice to exclude every self-governing colony from any treaty affecting its internal law, unless its government consents to its inclusion, while a right is reserved to denounce the treaty for each colony separately. All British possessions are, however, bound by treaties made by the Home Government with foreign countries, and every treaty affecting a possession binds its local government, though, as a treaty is not law, legislation is required where a change of law is necessary to give effect to the treaty.

Though it has naturally attracted less attention than the much discussed question of the relative merits of free trade and reciprocity, this dependence of all the British possessions on the Home Government in all matters of foreign policy is a factor in the great problem of fiscal reform now under the consideration of the nation, the importance of which cannot safely be ignored. The desire of the self-governing colonies for closer commercial union with the Mother country is one of the natural developments of the new movement for colonial expansion, and it therefore must be judged on its own merits, and with due regard for the colonial as well as for the British standpoint respecting it. As subordinate dependencies the self-governing colonies are practically powerless to carry on single-handed the war of tariffs with which they are threatened by Germany on account of their proposals to give preferential treatment to

¹ *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*, pp. 22, 23.

the Mother country. They naturally look to the Home Government to resist what Mr. Balfour has well described as foreign intervention in our domestic affairs, and its refusal to do so can hardly fail to change the ungrudging loyalty and affection which they have recently so unmistakably displayed into an equally determined hostility. It is owing to the narrow and selfish policy of the Mother country a century ago respecting a question of tariffs that our old North American colonies have developed into an alien State, which has become our most formidable political rival; and it behoves us to be on our guard lest a similar treatment of the far larger tariff question of to-day should now compel the great self-governing colonies which have replaced them to follow in their steps.

URQUHART A. FORBES.

THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER.

1. *From Letter to Spirit: An Attempt to Reach Through Varying Voices the Abiding Word.* By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (London: Adam & Charles Black. 1903.)
2. *Clue: A Guide Through Greek to the Hebrew Scripture.*
3. *The Corrections of Mark Adopted by Matthew and Luke.* By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (London: Adam & Charles Black. 1901-1902.)

"THE letter killeth; the spirit giveth life." Is there another text of Scripture that has been misused so persistently and harmfully by scholars and thinkers, by those who justly may claim to be called "men of reason and religion"? The misunderstanding or misapplication has not the excuse of an erroneous reading, like "fold" for "flock," in John x. 16. It is the words themselves that have suffered the wrong. Yet, if some question may be raised as to their exact meaning, there can be no possible doubt as to what they do *not* mean. Whether "letter" is a bare synonym for law, or indicates merely the external and preceptive character of law, or suggests purely formal observance and obedience, it is perfectly plain that St. Paul did not intend to teach indifference to or disregard of the letter. If God had made the apostles "sufficient as ministers of a new covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit," that did not imply rejection of the letter itself any more than our Lord's saying, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," forbade every sort of sacrifice, or than Joel inculcated physical violence to the heart instead of the garments, or prohibited the outward expression of penitence. As the freedom from the bondage of the letter which the newness of the spirit bestows does not destroy the obligation

of service, and affords no encouragement to antinomian theories and practices, but by its very charter writes the law on the heart, so the spirit of the new covenant interprets the letter and lives within it. On the straitest interpretation of "the letter" we are not justified in so contrasting "the spirit" with it as to render the former essentially injurious or even practically unnecessary. There is an abiding sense in which the ministration of the letter was "glorious."

Probably few of those who apply the contrast between letter and spirit to the Scriptures hold St. Paul directly responsible for it. An analogy of principle is all that they contend for. The parallel, however, is never precise, and, such as it is, runs but a short distance. With St. Paul "letter" really denotes a *spirit* of observance—minute scrupulosity, tithing to the last and smallest leaf, obedience which can be perfect though love and hearty consent are wanting. The Pauline contrast is scarcely between a literal and a spiritual interpretation, much less is it between a commandment accurately and authentically recorded and one whose language cannot be ascertained, and whose meaning cannot be estimated save by subjective conjecture. So far from casting doubt upon the genuineness of the material letter, the commandment as recorded, the comparison implies that this is known and indisputable. Between "letter" as the measure and motive of service and "letter" as the legible record there is a wider difference than between "spectral" as that which relates to a spectre and that which relates to a spectrum. St. Paul's opposition is not concerned with the wording of a document and the meaning it is intended to convey, but with the diverse mental attitudes toward that meaning. The servant in the letter and the servant in the spirit might both understand the Second Commandment to forbid the worship of graven images, might both keep it outwardly by an equal abstinence, might both believe that its very words had been uttered on Sinai, and yet the gulf that separated them yawn unbridgeable. Certainly St. Paul would not have condemned or despised the spiritual man because he accepted the letter, or exhorted

the other to destroy the letter that he might enter into its spirit. The man of the spirit might hold all that the man of the letter held, only he held something more and greater.

If we concede, for the moment, the legitimacy of the application of St. Paul's contrast to the historical New Testament, we must still be faithful to its significance. Clearly the apostle did not design that we should treat the letter, the written word, as an enemy, which we must kill lest it should kill us, nor did he teach that the letter mattered not, but only the spirit; nor, again, that the spirit could exist for us unembodied, so that the letter would perish and the spirit be preserved and communicable; nor that the letter was a mischievous illusion that must be dispersed in order that we might reach reality. The application conceded, we have still to do with a mode of apprehension and assimilation, not with a document, but with our moral attitude towards it. Historical trustworthiness does not come into consideration. Not merely is it not mentioned, all reference to it is excluded from the saying.

Nevertheless, the text is employed perpetually and confidently of doubt or denial of the trustworthiness of our Scriptures, especially where Biblical criticism performs the work of destruction. Sometimes the unlearned Christian is cheered by it; sometimes the critic himself takes refuge in it; sometimes it is urged as a reason for rash and ruthless havoc. There is at least an appearance of dishonesty in thus wrenching a passage from its context, in thus perverting its plain sense. "Bibliolatry" may be possible; if so, the contrast between letter and spirit may fairly be used to correct and rebuke it, the while it is made clear that only analogy is intended. A stubborn and stupid adherence to literal interpretations of figures of speech comes even more justly under its ban. But surely we ought to exercise care as to our exegesis of "letter," and to ascertain precisely what it is that is killed.

No rigid rule can be laid down upon the relation of words to thoughts, to decide on *a priori* grounds how far

alteration of language affects the subject-matter of a story; how far the terms in which it was expressed originally are essential to an idea. We are dealing throughout with variable quantities. This, at any rate, is clear—if the letter without the spirit is a dead weight, the spirit without the letter is an intangible and invisible ghost. Assaults upon the letter may inflict such rents that the spirit altogether vanishes through them. The danger assumes its acutest form when the credit of a narrative or the authenticity of a report is at stake. Conceivably, the process by which the letter is removed may be restoration or renovation, the unwrapping of veils that have hidden or distorted the spirit. On the other hand, the process may be the separation of the soul from the body, which is death. And if it is argued that that death is the gateway to a higher life, the reply comes only too readily that the freed soul has lost its communion with embodied humanity.

An extremely useful book might be written on the history of opinion concerning the relation of letter to spirit in the Scriptures. Such a book would fall naturally into two main divisions. The first would discuss the resistance of sober exegesis to unreasonable allegory, from, say, Origen's clever absurdities (mingled, though they are, with instances of fine spiritual insight) to the almost equally ingenious and more than equally absurd esoteric significations of the so-called Christian Theosophist. It would pass to mystical commenting, some of it more precious than rubies, some baseless and barren, some hectic and extravagant, much as wrong-headed as right-hearted. It would rarely or never find an actual but only a relative depreciation of the letter, an exaltation and exaggeration of the spirit that both dwarfed and caricatured its companion. The letter contained the spirit, brought it down to men; at least, was the door to the spirit's demesne, the avenue by which the spirit must be reached.

The second division of our imagined volume or volumes would include the cases in which the letter was subjected to disintegrating or destructive influences. For our own day it would concern itself chiefly with the Higher Criticism,

and with attempts to show that the spirit was not injured thereby, or our possession of it ; or that the spirit was liberated from cramping and concealing captivity. Necessarily neither path nor goal is the same in all instances. The tone runs the entire gamut from apology to congratulations, from regret to triumph. Nearly everything depends upon the conception of "the spirit." It is worth while to glance at the differences; it is convenient to treat the Old and the New Testament separately.

On the Old Testament very few words must suffice. Criticism declares that we can no longer regard its earlier biographies as historic. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob may have been creatures of flesh and blood, over whom myth and legend have cast their glamour, or who could be treated as figures in moral tales. Or, not altogether improbably, they are pure fictions—characters in a religious novel. Such is the teaching. The letter has disappeared, or has been invalidated. Immediately a host of voices is heard affirming that we have lost little or nothing ; the spirit remains intact, and, in one aspect, has come clearer into our view ; and these voices generally proceed from men who hold that the Bible records a revelation from God. According to Principal Fairbairn, "criticism has given us back the idea of God who lives in history through His people, and a people who live for Him through His Word." The contention is not unfair ; we have gained something for the idea of God in history, for the apprehension of revelation as a process. But the advantage dwindles as the history itself, and is quite reachable without the sacrifice. What is the sacrifice ? Dr. G. A. Smith explains that we may still preach the Old Testament, with modifications of sorts. A scholarly, and withal reverent, and, it might be added, spiritually minded Bampton Lecture tries to show that the lessons persist though the history has become story—at best a nebulous mass of moralising around a small and unascertainable nucleus of fact. There is no need to argue that fiction can teach a true moral, that fiction can often set that moral in a sharper light than biography. There is no need to

argue either that this employment of fiction is legitimate—the parables may witness for that. But we know WHO spoke the parables, and that He rightly declared the mind of God. We cannot, on the supposition, know that the makers of the *haggadoth* declared the mind of God. In other words, inspiration—the inbreathing of and the inbreathed spirit—has vanished. Even after listening to the ablest contrary argument, who does not *feel* that the spiritual power, the comfort and help, of the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob depend upon their truthfulness? The God of our fathers is not the God of the dead, but of the living; much less the God of characters of human invention.

The reference to the testimony of Jesus Christ concerning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob raises two other considerations. The narratives of Genesis are not given as moral fiction, but as genuine history: this difficulty is serious enough, but is, perhaps, not absolutely insuperable. The second point requires delicate handling, and would not be touched here except for its bearing upon subsequent discussion. The witness of our Lord and His apostles to the Old Testament exists, and we are bound to allow it full weight, whether or not it contradicts literary and critical judgments. It cannot be dismissed after the rather petulant fashion of Mr. J. Estlin Carpenter in his *Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, nor timidly put out of harm's way, as is done by certain apologists, who seem to fear damage to our Lord's authority. It does foreclose every question on which it decides. Here, if anywhere, the principle holds sway, "let God be true, and every man a liar." All the more reason is there for careful and candid examination, for scrupulous exactitude as to its extent and meaning. Evidently this witness is not all of the same denotation and connotation. The testimony with regard to the Davidic origin of the Psalter or the unity and authorship of prophetic books may honestly be capable of more than one interpretation. It is difficult to see how this can be so in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And indubitably Christ recognised the Old Testament as the Word of God, as testifying of

Himself. The inference appears inevitable that the inspiration of the Old Testament as a whole has the guarantee of our Lord Himself. The Church received the Hebrew Scriptures on the authority of Christ. We cannot, therefore, confine ourselves to details, to the relation between letter and spirit in particular passages; there is a spirit common to the entire Testament which affects its every part. We are not dealing with a concatenation of separate items. This attaches to the New Testament no less than to the Old.

Often it is urged strongly that, for critical and literary purposes, the Bible must be treated precisely as any other book, and the demand is admitted almost as often as it is made. At first sound, nothing could be more reasonable; nevertheless, the plea cannot be sustained in its completeness. The claim to inspiration enters its *caveat*; and that has the right to primary decision. By all means, treat the Bible as you would any other book that claims inspiration. See whether that claim is well or ill founded. If, by any process, the inspiration is established, then you have an unique book, one that possesses an element differentiating it from all others. A collection of books composed and connected as is no other collection of books must have literary features of its own. This is not to discount criticism, much less to bar it. Only criticism, to be valid, must either take the unique phenomena into its constant consideration, or, if this lies beyond its province, submit to subsequent correction on behalf of the omitted elements. Such books as Dr. John Smith's *Integrity of Scripture* may not be altogether satisfactory, may themselves be one-sided, may pass by important evidence; but they do present an essential portion of the truth. The large majority of the critical scholars who influence the Christian public do recognise some measure of inspiration in both Testaments. They may reduce it to the illogical banality—that the Bible merely records or contains a revelation; but even that renders the Bible unique literature, demanding unique treatment. The first question for a critic of this school should be—How does the measure of inspiration or revelation which I

perceive affect the record ? Mr. Illingworth's unanswerable contention that objections to miracles fail "if Christ was God" has been complained of as unfair, stigmatised as question-begging, yet its pertinence and force are acknowledged by many who hesitate to apply a like principle to the Scriptures ; but the logical ground is almost identical in the two cases. The Godhead of Christ renders His miracles natural, must be taken into account when weighing their evidence. The inspiration of the Scriptures renders abnormal memory natural, ensures, at the very least, such accuracy as is needful for the preservation of the substance of truth. Divine superintendence of any kind cannot fall short of this, however much it may exceed it. This has an important bearing upon letter and spirit in the New Testament.

Recent efforts to separate the letter from the spirit in the New Testament have followed two different, if, in some respects, convergent lines. Of the first, Harnack's *What Is Christianity?* and Wernle's *Beginnings of Christianity* are representative. With both we must find ourselves, on many points, in serious disagreement. Both, however, especially the former, are constructive as well as destructive. Both perceive in primitive Christianity the germs of that which has developed into the Christianity of our own day. Against the principle no valid objection can lie. We may feel that by both these authors it is applied somewhat arbitrarily, that a great deal too much freedom is exercised toward the history, that the original spirit of Christianity is misconceived to a varying extent, but the doctrine of development cannot be gainsaid. Not only must the institutions of Christianity, its outward organisation, change with changing years, but its teaching, "though living for all time, eternal truths," must needs be brought into due relation with the thought of successive centuries. "Primitive Christianity perished in order that Christianity might survive" has the fault of most sharp antitheses, but it may be understood in accordance with fact. "Christianity is in its essence a layman's religion, because Jesus, a layman,

was its prophet," contains a glaring *petitio principii* and a curious oversight, but its positive element is far from incorrect. Even when Harnack says,

Either the Gospel is in all respects identical with its earliest form, in which case it came with its time and has departed with it, or else it contains something which, under different historical forms, is of permanent validity. The latter is the true view. From the beginning it was a question of getting rid of formulas, correcting expectations, altering ways of feeling; and this is a process to which there is no end,—

while we wish to criticise the phraseology, and judge the sentiment to be incautiously extensive, we do not doubt that he is substantially in the right. In other words, there abides in the letter a spirit which does not burst the letter in its growth, but which sends forth powers capable of infinite expansion and application. This certainly is not precisely what Harnack and Wernle mean, but it indicates a relation of letter to spirit which they suggest, and which should never be forgotten.

Dr. Abbott's erudite and astonishingly clever volume, *From Letter to Spirit*, exhibits another phase of our subject. Its sub-title, *An attempt to reach through varying voices the Abiding Word*, prepares for both its method and its conclusions. Its author's views on the composition of the Gospels are well known. His article, "Gospels," in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, still stands in the latest issue, though some slight counterpoise has been provided by Professor Stanton's article in the *Supplement*. In conjunction with Schmiedel, Dr. Abbott has written the article, "Gospels," in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. His pen has been fertile in other ways in expounding and defending his hypotheses, notably in the works of fiction, *Philochristus* and *Onesimus*.¹ The present volume is the third of a

¹ The present writer discussed these views in three articles in this REVIEW: *The Christ of Fiction*, July, 1882; *The Latest Assault on the Fourth Gospel*, October, 1882; *Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel*, April, 1883. To them the curious reader may turn. Subsequent study has modified the views there expressed as to the relation of the Revelation to the Gospel according to St. John.

projected work, *Diatessarica*—an inquiry into the composition and mutual relations of the Four Gospels. The first volume (*Clue*) "aims at demonstrating that portions of the Synoptic Gospels are translated, or modified by translation, from Hebrew documents." Despite the bias of its author's general views, it opened up a promising line of investigation. The second volume (*The Corrections of Mark*) "aims at demonstrating that Mark contains a tradition from which Matthew and Luke borrowed, and discusses the common tradition adopted jointly by Matthew and Luke." Once more, valuable help is afforded towards the solution of the Synoptic problem, though we are provoked by the constant assumption, intimated by the title-page, that every deviation from or addition to Mark by Matthew and Luke is a "correction," and implies a blunder on the part of corrector or corrected. We may set aside as simply ingenious or incurably prejudiced a considerable number of the tracings of the Greek of the Synoptists to old or new Hebrew, yet the irreducible minimum goes some distance towards proving the contention that an Aramaic document underlies our present Mark. Thus genuine service is done towards Biblical criticism. Strangely enough, a perceptible step is taken towards the now almost abandoned hypothesis of the independence of our Mark and Matthew, though this is quite incompatible with Dr. Abbott's general position. The tone and temper of the final paragraph, though not all that could be desired, show a distinct improvement upon much of the author's previous writing. It actually contends for the honesty of the Evangelists, save as to an excusable tendency to manipulate the fulfilment of prophecy, which Dr. Abbott regards as axiomatic. "Accretion" evidences an uncritical mind; exaggeration is not so morally blameless, but it may issue from prejudiced misunderstanding, and be innocent of conscious fraud.

The important point is to disabuse ourselves of the notion that the earliest Evangelists would use much "editorial freedom"—a phrase sometimes used to mean a licence to insert details not because they are true but because they are

picturesque or edifying; to omit or modify these details because they seem to have an opposite tendency, and to alter for the mere purpose of embellishing. No doubt the writers may have been unconsciously biassed to a very large extent by a desire that the result of Christ's acts and words should represent Him adequately as the Fulfiller of prophecy, the Messiah, and the Son of God; and this bias has shaped their narratives. But . . . we do not find very early apocryphal Evangelists, and never the canonical ones, deliberately inventing new traditions. It is generally possible to detect, even now, some basis of fact or ancient tradition for what appears at first sight to be a mere fiction; and it is a reasonable inference that if we had before us all the "narratives" of the "many" authors mentioned by Luke, and all the written interpretations of Matthew's Logia handed down by those who, as Papias says, "interpreted them each to the best of his ability," we should find the paucity of invention almost equal to the magnitude of accretion.

From the third volume, which was to examine the double tradition, we anticipated a continuance of scholarly and fairly temperate investigation. We are given, instead, a violent polemic, a direct attack on the credibility of all four Evangelists, and an assurance that after this sort we must approach the problem of letter and spirit. Dr. Abbott explains his change of purpose. From his account of our Lord's baptism St. John omits the Voice from heaven recorded by the Synoptists, while the Synoptists omit a Voice recorded by St. John (xii. 28, 29). The Fourth Gospel omits the Transfiguration (including the Voice). The prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane is omitted by St. John, while he retains a prayer not given by the Synoptists (xii. 28). This prayer precedes the Johannine Voice. St. Luke states that Christ was praying before the Voice at the Transfiguration, while Matthew and Mark do not. Between the various records of all three occurrences are verbal differences, especially in the prayer and the Voices. That the Voice from heaven could not have been uttered is a preliminary assumption which may not be questioned, and the Transfiguration must be reckoned only a shade less incredible.

So the present volume sets itself to explain both how the legends themselves and the differences of reporting arose. Thus, it is contended, we shall reach the spirit which the letter has obscured.

Dr. Abbott's view of the origin and intention of the Fourth Gospel is fundamental to his theory. He dedicates this volume "To the unknown author of the Fourth Gospel; the noblest attempt at indirect biography, when direct biography was impossible," and adds later, "who finding the glory of the Lord Jesus so darkened by legendary materialism and misinterpretation that historic detail was no longer discernible, was inspired by the Holy Spirit not to correct old writings, but to write things new in letter yet old in essence, not contradicting nor arguing, but explaining, so as to reveal his Master indirectly (as seen in the mirror of the disciple whom He loved)." A real Johannine element is admitted to an undiscoverable degree, and an effort to set forth the truth: it is this which gives the Fourth Gospel its interpretative preponderance. The peculiarity of the situation is that the unknown author writes not to supplement the other three Evangelists, nor to present a companion picture, but to correct positive misrepresentation. In Matthew, Mark, and Luke, "historic detail was no longer discernible" through layers of misunderstanding and myth. At any rate, two of these Gospels had acquired currency because of the names attached to them, and the shorter approximated closely to a translation from the original Aramaic, yet they are honeycombed with legend and materialism, not merely unhistoric, but positively misleading. The inconsistency is not easy to reconcile. On the heels of this comes another: the unknown author, who is competent to correct the errors, has so much respect for these misrepresentations or their authors that he dares not state the facts of the case plainly, but gently enunciates the antidote. Harnack's putting of the matter may be compared with Dr. Abbott's:

The author of it [St. John] acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the

discourses himself, and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations. Although, therefore, his work is not devoid of a real, if scarcely recognisable, traditional element, it can hardly make any claim to be considered an authority for Jesus' history . . . on the other hand, it is an authority of the first rank for answering the question, What vivid views of Christ's person, what kind of light and warmth did the Gospel disengage?

The difference between Dr. Abbott and Harnack is sufficiently striking. With the latter, St. John is a development, with the former a correction. With both, the Synoptists represent the mind of the earliest Church; they were the food that Church was nourished and grew upon. Harnack holds that the earlier Gospels produced St. John, "disengaged" its "light and warmth." Dr. Abbott thinks that they concealed its light and chilled its warmth. Obviously, Harnack's view *could* account for the "spiritual Gospel." Dr. Abbott's renders this "noblest attempt at indirect biography" a startling miscalculation of the relation of ends to means. Take one of Dr. Abbott's crucial instances. The prayer at Gethsemane, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt" (in its various forms),¹ appears to him unworthy of Jesus Christ. He assumes that the

¹ The utmost is made of these differences, and of their divergence from St. John's version of "Christ's one prayer" (xii. 27). This is then assumed to be another version of the promise at the Last Supper, not to drink of the fruit of the vine till the kingdom of God come. John thought this a mistaken application of "the cup which My Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it?" partially owing to a possible confusion between the Syriac for "cup" and "hour." "The strong Greek negation," *I will surely not*, is used here only by the Synoptists, and once only by John. "I will surely not" is, it seems, a phrase that could be used but once in a lifetime, however similar the circumstances. So our Lord's prayer, that the cup might pass from Him, and His "Thy will be done," becomes, "Put up your sword (and conform to the *divine* will. If ye have *your* will) I am not to drink of the cup the Father hath given Me!" St. Luke's rise (xxii. 45) is not unlike the Syriac for "pillar." Now James and John were pillars of the church. Hence the erroneous assertion that they were with Christ in the Garden. Such perpetual confusion and misunderstanding can be matched only by comparisons one does not care to elaborate. The sole parallel is a comic examination paper.

unknown "John" must have been of the same opinion, and therefore substituted for it (xii. 27), "Father, glorify Thy Name," or Son, as the last word is interpreted. Thus the spirit is disclosed which the letter distorted. The conflict between the will of the Father and the will of the Son, and the unmanly shrinking from physical pain disappear. In their place are put continuous unity and victory.

We can scarcely stay to express dissent from Dr. Abbott's moral judgment. One would have thought that the comfort, help, and strength which the Christian experience of all ages has found in the narrative of the Agony, and its example of resignation, necessitates another appraisal. The story of the struggle and the submission meets a deep and abiding need of our human nature, as Miss Elliott's hymn alone sufficiently intimates. Of *conflict* of wills there is no trace. The human will yields to the divine from the first. Even while the human nature offers its plea it professes profound acquiescence in the Father's ruling. "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak" was spoken not only of the sleeping disciples but of Him who "was crucified through weakness." Besides, the cup which the Sin-bearer drank was not compounded merely or principally of physical agony. And, again, the incident occurred in the postulated Aramaic documents, and is recorded by all three Synoptists, and with such variations as indicate more than one source. It is clearly impossible that the incident is baseless or has grown out of misunderstandings of and accretions to a single saying of our Lord. Let us, however, suppose that "the unknown author" believed that the Agony was unhistoric, and that the prayer put by the Synoptists into Christ's mouth misrepresented His character and sentiments. It is necessary, therefore, to point out both the fiction and the deterioration. In order to do this, the corrector constructs another fiction, the circumstances of which are so unlike those of the Agony that tens of centuries elapsed before anyone dreamt that the second fiction was substituted for the first, and changes the prayer into one that requires several pages of critical special pleading to educe from the

earlier Evangelists' words. And, withal, he succeeds in producing incident and words evolved from the earlier narrative, but from which the earlier narrative could not have been evolved. Nor does the *tour de force* stop here. The alleged correction could not be perceived without a scholarly knowledge of old and new Hebrew, and of Greek, and without the employment of modern critical methods.

But, urges Dr. Abbott, if "the unknown" had believed the story of the Agony, he would have incorporated it in his Gospel. The structure of the Fourth Gospel does not give the impression that all that its writer omitted he disbelieved. Yet the same argument is applied to the Transfiguration. Ordinary common sense¹ would say that St. John was satisfied with the three-fold account, and hence left it untouched. The true explanation, it seems, is that John xii. 27-30 was intended as corrective to the Transfiguration as well as the Gethsemane legend. Whether any illusory scene, afterwards materialised and exaggerated into the Transfiguration, ever occurred, Dr. Abbott will not venture to decide. He contrasts St. Luke and St. Paul. "The latest of the Synoptists emphasises the objective nature of the apparitions," misled by the Jewish notion that the glory that illumined Jesus' face was physically visible. St. Paul speaks of believers as "mirroring the glory of the Lord," and "being in the same likeness metamorphosed from glory to glory in such wise as might be expected from the Lord," and as being "metamorphosed by the new creation of the mind." And "from this it appears that St. Paul would not accept the statement that Christ was '*metamorphosed*,' except as a popular way of stating that the disciples were metamorphosed," etc. From this it appears, we might continue, that St. Paul would not accept the statement that Christ was born, lived, died, rose from the

¹ This professedly is Dr. Abbott's ultimate standard of appeal. In the introduction to *Clue* he pictures the competent judge as declaring his ignorance of Greek and Hebrew, but his ability to weigh evidence, and his possession of common sense. The constitution of the court might be more favourable to the appellant.

dead, except as a popular way of stating that the disciples experienced the birth from above, and so on. But, after all, we are allowed a glimpse of fact as to even the Transfiguration. In some unascertainable circumstances, and apparently *à propos* to nothing in particular, Peter did say "Let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias." There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of these words, or else Origen and others could not have commented adversely upon them. As we have no question of their genuineness, we need not examine the queer reason assigned for accepting them; only it would be well to extend the criterion—much that Dr. Abbott denies must be genuine, or Cerinthus and others could not have commented adversely [*? or favourably*] upon it. St. Peter did not know what he said, but Dr. Abbott does. It was a clear case of unconscious cerebration. He meant, "Thou art to us Moses, Thou art to us Elijah, and let us build three tabernacles, one for Thee [*as Thyself*], and one for [*Thee as*] Moses, and one for [*Thee as*] Elijah." This is not very convincing or enlightening. We can understand how three tabernacles might have suggested themselves on the Mount, for three distinct persons; it is not so easy to understand how three tabernacles for three aspects of one Person suggested themselves elsewhere; nor how the abstract thought of Christ as "the climax of the Law and the Prophets" could have clothed itself in such a concrete form. We can scarcely wonder that the unknown author, anxious for Peter's reputation, spiritualised his utterance into the confession, "Thou hast the words of eternal life." There is still the narrative of the actual vision to account for. That presents, on the hypothesis, no difficulty. "These impassioned words, being reduced to narrative, along with a statement that He '*appeared to some, or to Peter and those with Him, as Moses and Elijah,*' might easily result in a statement in which '*as*' was omitted. '*There appeared to them Moses and Elijah,*' with subsequent explanations and amplifications for clearness." There is only one reply to this style of historic criticism. It is abso-

lutely inconsistent with the possession of ordinary intelligence on the part of the Evangelists and of the primitive Church. St. Mark's Gospel was issued during St. John's lifetime, the postulated Aramaic document was circulated during St. Peter's, yet they left this tissue of error and absurdity uncontradicted, and St. Luke, admittedly a man of education and historic faculty and sense, fell into so palpable a snare. "Surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird."

One main objection, we are told, that the unknown John felt to the story of the Transfiguration is the mention of a Voice from heaven. He has omitted the Voice from his account of the Baptism. This omission, one would imagine, is accounted for naturally by the fact that it was not part of the fore-given signs by which the Baptist recognised the Messiah, and was, therefore, not mentioned by him. Dr. Abbott, however, has another reason for the Synoptic insertion and the Johannean deletion. When the former wrote, the Bath Kol was "in favour" with the Rabbin, but when the latter wrote, it was "on its defence." Much learning is spent in showing that the Bath Kol was originally a Jewish metaphor for the proverb, "*Vox populi, vox Dei*," or for an omen or coincidence.

It is extremely interesting, but, so far as the Gospel Voices are concerned, over-reaches itself. If the Voices at the Baptism and on the Mount intimate merely mental impressions on the Baptist and on the three disciples, there could be no motive for its removal from the narrative. If the Evangelists translated mental impression into an audible Voice, it could be only because the Jews deemed the Bath Kol audible. One may doubt, too, the change of view between the Gospels of Luke and John. The saying, "One does not trouble one's self about Bath Kol" is separated farther from St. John than St. John is from St. Luke. But the inexplicable matter is that the unknown John does record a Voice from heaven. Dr. Abbott's explanation is that the writer mentioned a Voice in connexion with his correction of the Transfiguration narrative lest he should

seem to reflect on his predecessors, and then proceeded to discredit it by suggestions that "it thundered," or that there was some confused sound that people mistook for the speech of an angel. If, on other grounds, this were not impossible, could a writer with such an intention have preserved the very words that the Voice uttered? The old-fashioned exegesis that sees in the record of the popular doubts an instance of conspicuous fidelity to fact accords much more closely with likelihood. If the Fourth Evangelist had disbelieved the reality of the Voices, and wished to intimate this belief, he would not have manufactured both a Voice and its words. He who was silent in the record of the Baptism could have been equally silent in the correction of the Transfiguration story.

Has the destruction of the letter brought us any nearer to the spirit? We may admit fully that, apart from the suspicion generated of common untrustworthiness, much of extreme value remains to us. But the loss is incalculable, and the doubt and uncertainty of significance cast over the rest threaten a continuance of the process of deprivation.

Another of Dr. Abbott's methods is minute examination of verbal differences between the Evangelists, in order to prove conscious emendation of fact and expression for the sake of conveying meanings not properly belonging to that which is uttered.

Let us take, as an example of the method, an instance in which the result (apart from insinuations freely suggested) influences little the inspiration or the interpretation of the text. Mark i. 10, has "the Spirit"; Matt. iii. 15, "[the] Spirit of God"; Luke iii. 22, "the Holy Spirit"; John i. 32, 33, "the Spirit." To the ordinary student the sole difficulty would be St. Matthew's (not quite certain) omission of the article. If St. Mark represents an original Aramaic, "the Spirit" would be found in it, because there is no conceivable reason for deleting the qualifications. St. Matthew and St. Luke here are not reporting the words of another, but writing a narrative of their own. If they were following St. Mark or an original Aramaic (St. Luke at least

had other sources), the attributive additions would proceed from a natural tendency to expansion and variation, as well as for the sake of definiteness. St. Matthew's omission of the article was probably accidental, though it may have been caused, consciously or unconsciously, by the Hebrew idiom. St. John reported the Baptist's words as they were spoken. All this is as simple and obvious as need be. Nor is it complicated greatly by St. Luke's "in (a) bodily form." All the Evangelists state that the descent of the Spirit was *seen*, whether as a vision or physically.

Dr. Abbott, however, cites Isa. xi. 2 : "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him," with its six-fold explication, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, counsel and might, knowledge and the fear of the Lord. The next clause is rendered by the LXX. : "The spirit of the fear of God shall fill him." Both Jews and Christians referred this prophecy to the Messiah, and by the latter it was connected frequently with the Baptism. One apocryphal Gospel certainly (the Nazarene) and another probably (Twelve Patriarchs) drew their phraseology from the passage. The Jews, following the Hebrew, spoke of six spirits as resting on the Messiah ; the Christians,¹ following the LXX., of seven. It was necessary to claim the complete endowment of the spirit for Christ, and Matthew writes "spirit of God," omitting the article because Isaiah omits it, but not translating from Isaiah "spirit of the Lord," because the spirit of the Lord was said to rest upon the judges and other mere men, and forgetting that the spirit of God was said to rest upon Bezaleel and Balaam. St. Luke perceives the awkwardness, and alters to "the Holy Spirit," but, unfortunately, he mistakes the meaning of the Septuagint, "filled" (cf. Col. i. 19 ; ii. 9), and paraphrases it "in bodily form." St. John, too, must be discredited, so we are told that it was impossible that he should have used "the spirit" without qualification, although, *ex hypothesi*, this actually *was* the phrase used in the Aramaic, and, practically, it is admitted that the phrase

¹ This is too strong a statement, but it may pass.

would have been idiomatic if "the spirit of the Lord," or "of God," or "my spirit" had been employed beforehand either in the private revelation to the Baptist or in some utterance of his immediately before the one that St. John records.

Complex explanation of simple phenomena does violence to the doctrine of sufficient cause. It is scarcely worth while to press this, as a more serious objection remains. *Onesimus* has made us familiar with the principle that underlies this employment of prophecy. Christian teachers, deplorably ignorant, are there represented as translating prophecy into fact, on the ground that things must have been so, though no evidence existed for the fulfilment. No such charge was there brought against the Evangelists. Now, however, St. Luke is accused of deliberately and untruthfully adding to formal history in the interest of the argument from prophecy, unless, indeed, his honesty can be vindicated at the expense of the "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" who were his informants, and at the expense of the intelligence which "traced the course of all things accurately from the first." True, the Evangelists are acquitted formally of "invention," but the thing itself is ascribed to them freely.

On such grounds as we have sketched we are deprived of the witness at the Baptism (it is doubtful if even the ceremony took place, and that despite Acts i. 21, 22), the whole narrative of the Transfiguration, and by far the greater part of that of the Agony in the Garden—to leave unmentioned several texts which are condemned *en passant*. And what is the spirit which this wholesale destruction of the letter reveals? "The Truth about the Voice from Heaven," the rather dogmatic title of Dr. Abbott's concluding chapter, sums up the answer. "This is the truth about the glory of God . . . that its crowning manifestation is not in ritual, or beauty, or power, but in a good man." The next two or three sentences come near to confessing Christ as the Son of the living God—His true Deity; but they stop just short of this. Philip, we are reminded,

believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph, and our Lord did not correct him ; He rather sanctioned the truth of the idea, but intimated that the double human descent was no barrier to acceptance of Jesus, "*a man as righteous as possible*,"¹ as the complete revelation of the Father. The long time Philip had been with Jesus *could* have taught him no differently. Without correcting Philip's error, if error it was, Jesus, in effect, commands him—and not without a suggestion of reproach for not having accepted the command—to accept 'the son of a carpenter' as one whom, having seen, Philip had seen the Father in heaven." The following words read, "Some people would regard such a command as mad or blasphemous." With these "people" we can range ourselves fearlessly; no "mere man," though he were "as righteous as possible," can be "the very image of God." The Greek philosopher was right in saying that in comparison with such a man, "*There is nothing more like God*"; but we are thus confronted with the *homoiousian* heresy, the Arian or Unitarian lowering of the Person of Christ. Dr. Abbott has endeavoured to avoid this, but his methods and principles have forced him to it at the last.

Irreverent, heedless handling of the letter has slain the spirit. Frequently we are assured that the extremest criticism must leave to us Christ. Unfortunately, this does not accord with fact. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him"; and in this case we are forbidden to hope or to dry our tears, for there has been no resurrection, the appearances are illusions, the utterances faint and deceptive echoes. "Thou, O Christ, art all I want," expresses deep and abiding Christian experience and conviction. But He who satisfies our every and utmost need must not be a Christ of fiction, but the Christ of history—not a shadowy form of which little or nothing exists—not a vague though ennobling impression,

¹ Compare Mr. J. E. Carpenter's contention that we cannot ascribe sinlessness to Christ, because we have no record of His thirty years of private life, and can know nothing of His secret thoughts.

but a Christ whose example we can trace and follow, whose words we can listen to and obey, assured that we are not misled by a clumsily devised fable.

The high and deserved reputation of Dr. Abbott for scholarship and skill, and the prominence which his theories of the structure and origin of the Gospels has attained, would alone necessitate some examination of his latest work. There is another reason. As Dr. J. A. Robinson's *Study of the Gospels* reminds us, if we can reproduce with any degree of probability the Aramaic that underlies the Greek of the memoirs of our Lord, we obtain a near approach to "the very words . . . as they must have fallen from our Lord's lips." Dalman (*The Words of Jesus*) has indicated how greatly this may aid to the understanding of His sayings, and of the atmosphere in which He lived. Dr. Abbott is not working on the same lines as Dalman, but he is helping us to get back to the Aramaic. Nay, more, his processes do assist to explain the structure of the Gospels. It would be a thousand pities if they become associated, in the mind of the Church, with determined and ingenious assaults upon the credibility of the Evangelists, or with degradation of the Person of Christ. There is no necessary connexion between the two. The phenomena of New Testament quotation of the Old, from Septuagint or Hebrew, the reason for which the Holy Spirit led holy men to express the apparently *ipsissima verba* of our Lord in different forms, the preparation for the use of a world-wide Bible in various languages, may be studied while inspiration itself is kept in view and the claim of the Christ to be very God of very God. Symptoms of Dr. Abbott's destructiveness, on not dissimilar grounds, already appear in unexpected quarters. Most reverent and vigilant care is needful to escape the danger. We are neither able nor desirous to close our eyes to welcome light. Much of inestimable value is shown to us. We are anxious only to store the gold, while we reject the base metal with which it is too often mingled, and which too often is mistaken for it.

J. ROBINSON GREGORY.

L.Q.R., OCTOBER, 1903.

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EURIPIDES AS A PREACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

1. *Religious Thought in the West.* By B. F. WESTCOTT,
late Bishop of Durham. (London : Macmillan & Co.
1903.)
2. *Religion in Greek Literature.* By LEWIS CAMPBELL,
Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of St.
Andrews. (London : Longmans & Co. 1898.)

WHEN St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, reiterated his assertion of the moral responsibility of the Gentiles, saying, "That which may be known of God is manifest in them ; for God manifested it to them" ; "they show the work of the law written in their hearts" ; "knowing the ordinance of God, that they which practise such things are worthy of death" ; and when he appealed to the members of the young Churches to walk worthily of their profession in the sight of the heathen, as assuming that these were competent critics of the consonance of profession with practice, he was not uttering vague generalities, nor drawing inferences from natural probabilities. From the written records of many nations might be gathered evidence of men's intuition of the Supreme, of their innate consciousness of God, of their sense of dependence on Him and responsibility to Him, of their premonition of divine justice, of their recognition of the duty of loving one's neighbour, of their discrimination between true and false ideals of life. Fully to illustrate this from the literature of the nation whose language Paul was using would require a large volume, since epic and lyric poets, dramatists, orators, philosophers, historians, all have ample testimony to bear.

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We will here confine ourselves to a part of the evidence contributed by just one of these—a part, for the whole would far exceed the limits of our space—but that one the most typical of the attitude of the Greek mind towards the problems of the Unseen, of Life, and of Duty, as it had continued during nearly five hundred years before Paul put on record what was then a commonplace of ethics. The dramatist was at once a leader and an exponent of the thoughts that shook mankind throughout the world of Greeks.

"The Greek theatre," says Westcott, "was a national temple; and more than this, the tragic poets were the national preachers. . . . While the Athenian learned the practice of life from the debates of the public assembly, he learned the theory of life from the poems of the theatre."

And of all the dramatists, he whose influence was most abiding was Euripides. He it was who first found a voice for the strange doubts and obstinate questionings which perplex men's minds, who faced the problems from which others shrank, or with which they trifled. And it was he who, recognising the brotherhood of humanity, insisted on the lessons, the obligations, the aims and ideals that are based on such recognition. Hence he never became antiquated. His dramas were performed, familiar quotations from him were in all men's mouths, right down to the days of the Apostles. We read of a play of his (and that the one which is fullest of speculation on the relations of the divine to the human) being represented in the time of Cæsar at the far-away court of Parthia. There are more quotations by ancient writers from a single play of his than from all the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles put together. The line quoted by St. Paul (and by various Fathers after him) in 1 Corinthians xv. 33 is by an ancient writer attributed to him. When Paul, in his addresses at Corinth, Athens, Ephesus, and elsewhere, reminded Gentiles, by the witness of their own hearts, that they had such knowledge of the divine nature, such recognition of the claims of duty, as left them without excuse in sin, there were few present who

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could not have corroborated his words by citation on citation from a poet as familiar to them as Shakespeare is to us. It is a curious comment on that notion of half-informed gushers about "the Hellenic spirit," that it was free from the shadows of the religious spirit cast over the modern mind, to note that, whereas serious allusions to religion are tabooed on the modern stage, the Greek dramatists are, in the words of a brilliant critic,

almost burdened with a weight of brooding thought upon the meaning and the mystery of life, with its necessities, fatalities, possibilities ; what is life, what is death, what right and wrong, and duty, and destiny, and happiness, and truth, in this world of wonder.

As Professor Campbell says :

The life of an average Greek citizen was pestered with many a dark scruple from which Christianity has set men free. To hear some people talk, one would suppose that frivolity was a characteristic of the Greek ; whereas, in point of fact, it is the *seriousness* of this people that is so remarkable ; not that false seriousness which is the negation of humour, but the seriousness of unimpeded energy. Whatever they undertook they took seriously ; nay, more, in a religious spirit ; and therefore they performed it better than any others have done before or since. It is due to them that the moral problem was at last set forth as one for all men.

Everyone, then, who wishes to comprehend the true character of St. Paul's mission work needs to understand the audiences to which he appealed. These were no brutalised savages, such as have been the despair and the triumph of our modern missionaries ; not men in whom the conception of a divine Father had to be created, not men devoid of aspirations to a higher life. The Apostles had to guide the hands that were already feeling after a Saviour, to open the door to seekers who were groping for it in the darkness without, to reveal to many failing hearts that they had long been not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.

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The questions touched on by Euripides which it is proposed to illustrate here from his writings, are concerned, broadly speaking, with the two great ultimate problems of human thought, the conception of a divine power which controls men, and to whom they are responsible, and the conception of human destiny and duty. And, however much the thoughts of men have widened with the process of the suns, nothing has yet been discovered better worth thinking about. At the commencement of this poet's career men had begun to think on these topics as their fathers had not thought. As is usual when old beliefs are first called in question, they began by rejecting too much. Because reason and morality revolted against the Pantheon of conscienceless deities which an older generation had accepted, some leapt to the conclusion that, since these, the only gods they knew, were inconceivable, there was no God. Euripides voiced the protest of the deeper thinkers. He warned men that, though they might never be sure whether there was one God or many, whether it was Zeus who was supreme or some Power whose name was yet unrevealed, the essential fact was that there is an overruling Providence, that this Power works for justice, that on this are men dependent, and to this amenable. That man by searching cannot find Him out (nay, even pronounce where He is not) he confessed¹:

¹ The complete extant dramas of Euripides are nineteen in number; but we possess fragments from some sixty plays besides, gathered from ancient writers who, in quoting them, gave the name of the play from which they were taken. To quotations from these latter the name is appended in italics. Of the quotations to which (D) is appended the source is not known, since the classical writers who have preserved them to us have simply given them as "from Euripides." It will be found that the great majority of the illustrative quotations here given are taken from lost plays. This choice has been made because the extant complete plays are accessible in various translations, whereas there exists no English version of the "Fragments." Hence these, in addition to their intrinsic merit, will probably have the charm of freshness, even for readers to whom quotations from the extant plays might seem somewhat hackneyed.

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Who among men dare say that he, exploring
Even to Creation's farthest limit-line,
Ever hath found the God of our adoring,
That which is not God, or the half-divine?

[HELEN.]

O Earth's Upbearer, thou whose throne is Earth,
Whoe'er thou be, O past our finding out,
Zeus, be thou Nature's Law, or mind of man,
To thee I pray; for, treading soundless paths,
In justice dost thou guide all mortal things.—[TROADES.]

Yet there was a basis of truth, some inspired intuition, in
the faith of a nation, by which it was safer to hold rather
than drift anchorless:

'Tis not for us to reason touching Gods;
Traditions of our fathers, old as Time,
We hold: no reasoning shall cast them down—
No, though of subtlest wit our wisdom spring.

[BACCHAE.]

Slowly on-sweepeth, but unerringly,
The might of Heaven, with sternest lessoning
For men who in their own mad fantasy
Exalt their unbelief, and crown it king—
Mortals who dare belittle things divine!
Ah, but the gods in subtle ambush wait:
On treads the foot of time; but their design
Is unrelinquished, and the ruthless fate
Quests as a sleuth-hound till it shall have tracked
The godless down in that relentless hunt.
We may not, in the heart's thought or the act,
Set us above the law of use and wont.—[BACCHAE.]

The man of all men, who, professing himself wise,
became a fool, was he

Who sees this universe and finds no God,
But babbles those star-gazers' aimless lies,
Whose pestilent tongue flings random dreams abroad
Of the unseen, whom wisdom makes not wise.—[D.]

Yet for man, unguided by revelation, to give definiteness

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to his faith, to obtain a clear vision of the Supreme, of this he recognised the impossibility :

Say, what conception must we form of God
The all-beholding, unbeheld Himself ?—[D.]

And still more the absurdity of circumscribing His presence within the limits of a temple made with hands :

What manner of house by hands of craftsmen framed
May compass with its walls the form divine ?—[D.]

He recognised, too, the peril attending mere speculation :

The Heavenly Ones dwell far away ;
Yet look they on men from their cloudy portals.
Ah, not with knowledge is Wisdom bought ;
And the spirit that soareth too high for mortals
Shall see few days : whosoever hath caught
At the things too great for a man's attaining,
Even blessings assured shall he lose in the gaining.

[BACCHAE.]

And if he saw the dangers attending honest inquiry, much more did he reprobate the impious charlatanism of those who sought to trade on the hopes and fears of humanity, the soothsayers and priests of oracles :

Why sit ye upon thrones of prophecy,
And swear ye clearly know the nature of gods ?
Men have no mastery of such things as these ;
For whoso vaunts his knowledge of the gods,
Nothing he knows—save to talk plausibly.

[*Philoctetes.*]

He was not blind, however, to the ever-present difficulty of reconciling the idea of a ruling Providence with the unequal distribution of life's blessings, with the prosperity of the wicked, and the sufferings of the good :

Ah, how unequal is the lot of men !
Some prosper ; unto others there befall
Misfortunes, though they reverence the gods,
And heedfully and circumspectly live
Their whole life justly, with no taint of shame.

[*Syleus.*]

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And so one of his characters says :

Zeus surely ought, if he in heaven indeed
Is, not to make unhappy the good man.—[D.]

Another, in the passionate protest of despair, cries :

Saith anyone that there be gods in Heaven ?
None are there, none. If any saith there be,
Let him not deal in old tales like a fool.
Look for yourselves, not in bare words of mine
Putting your trust. I say the kings of earth
Slay many a man, rob many of their goods,
And, setting oaths at naught, lay cities waste,
And, doing this, are yet more prosperous
Than quiet folk who fear God day by day.
And little states I know that honour God,
Yet subject unto stronger godless states,
O'ermastered by the spears outnumbering theirs :
And you, I ween, if any deedless pray
To gods, not gathering substance with his hands,
Shall Heaven and dire calamities destroy.—[*Bellerophon.*]

And again :

How, looking on these things, can we aver
That there be gods—or why obey their laws?—[D.]

But Euripides would not admit that a question involving our nature's deepest needs was so to be closed. As Tennyson tells how, in answer to the voice, "Believe no more," like a man in wrath the heart stood up and answered, "I have felt," so, in the face of all perplexing problems, Euripides hears the inward voice of conviction that cannot be silenced :

There is, howe'er ye gibe thereat,
A Zeus, and gods who look on woes of men.—[D.]

The sneer of the philosopher who asked if faith in the immoral gods of popular belief was better than agnosticism, he brushed aside as having no relevance to the real question :

If gods do deeds of shame, no gods are they.—[*Bellerophon.*]

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I deem not that the gods for spousals crave
Unhallowed : tales of gods' hands manacled
Ever I scorned, nor ever will believe,
Nor that one god is born another's lord.
For God hath need—if God indeed He be—
Of nought : these be the minstrels' sorry tales.

[HERCULES MAD.]

These were the creations of evil men, the embodiment of
their own vices :

Man-murderers

Charge on their goddess their own sin.—[IPH. IN TAUR.]

It was to something higher than aught fancied in poets'
fables or published in priestly oracles that he would fain
point the gaze of his fellow-men. The highest and the
purest thing in the creation, the most all-pervading,

The high abode of gods, the sunlit air
Which compasseth the whole earth everywhere,—[D.]

this he held for the habitation of the divine, co-extensive,
and, in some sort, one with Himself :

Seest thou the boundless ether there on high
That folds the earth around with dewy arms ?
This deem thou Zeus, this reckon one with God.—[D.]

And to Him he felt that he could put up the proëm of the
Universal Prayer :

O Self-begotten, who, in ether rolled
Endlessly round, by mystic links dost blend
The nature of all things, whom veils enfold
Of light, of dark night flecked with gleams of gold,
Of star-hosts dancing round Thee without end.

[*Peirithous.*]

And here—and this is not the least interesting feature in our
study—he was not alone.

"Before the middle of the sixth century," writes Professor
Campbell, "individuals at Athens and elsewhere had begun to
form new conceptions of the divine nature and of the religious
life. They dimly but strongly felt the contradictions and

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confusions of the traditional mythology, and strove to formulate the idea of a Universal Deity pervading all things and essentially One."

To reconcile the aspect of the world as we see it with a trustful faith, the conviction was required for the questioning Greek, no less than for the doubting Psalmist, that the prosperity of the wicked was terribly insecure, that behind the veil a Power is ever working for justice, that without such conviction faith must perish :

We must believe no more
In gods, if wrong shall triumph over right.—[ELECTRA.]
If the godfearing man no better fare
Than the most godless, how should this be right
If Zeus most holy thinketh no injustice?—[Phrixos.]

There were—there always have been—instances enough of visible judgment to justify such trust :

I, whensoever I see the wicked man
Cast down, aver that there are gods indeed.
[Palamedes.]

If any man there be that scorns the gods,
This man's death let him note, and so believe.—[BACCHAE.]

It was felt that righteous retribution was part of the eternal order of things, of law in the highest sense :

A slave I may be, yea, and weak—
Yet are the gods strong, and their ruler strong,
Even Law ; for by this Law we know gods are,
And live, and make division of wrong and right.
[HECUBA.]

If the feet of vengeance sometimes paced slowly on, none the less was their coming sure :

Justice shall not swoop on thee—fear not thou—
And stab thee to the heart, nor any knave
Beside : but silently with lingering foot
She comes, to seize the wicked in her hour.—[D.]

Not with secret pain only, but with open shame and everlasting contempt, would that stroke fall :

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Never dream that the evil-doer's prosperity, neither the pride
Of his riches for long shall abide,
Nor the seed of the wrongful dealer ;
For Time the unfathered Revealer,
Laying the line and the plummet of righteousness thereto,
Barreth men's guilt to view.—[*Bellerophon.*]

Therefore, since

No sinner is safeguarded against God—[*Poluidos.*]

he bade a scornful voice cry from the theatre's great marble stage :

Snatch honours by the strong hand, wicked men ;
Get wealth, yea hunt the prey from every side,
Unrighteous gain and righteous undistinguished—
Then the grim harvest reap of all these things !—[*Iso.*]

And another prophetic voice pealed in answer :

Whene'er thou seest a man with pride uplifted
Of glittering wealth or arrogance of birth,
And wearing looks yet loftier than his fortunes,
Expect swift retribution for him soon.—[*D.*]

And it came as a heart-searching thought to his hearers
when he told them that this attribute of God had not its
home on some far-away Olympus, but by the sinner's very
side :

Lo, Justice is, men say, the child of Zeus,
And hard by men's transgression doth she dwell.
[*Andromeda.*]

Thou thinkest thou shalt baffle Heaven's wisdom,
That Justice somewhere dwells afar from men !
Nay, she is nigh ; unseen she seeth all,
And knows whom to chastise. But thou know'st not
When her swift coming shall destroy the wicked.
[*Archelaus.*]

He declared that the record and the sentence ran concurrent with the sin :

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Deem ye that sins leap upward unto heaven
On wings,—that then on Zeus's tablet-folds
One writeth them—that Zeus beholding them
So judgeth men? Not all the expanse of heaven,
If Zeus would write thereon the sins of men,
Were wide enough, nor could he, reading there,
Send each his punishment. Nay, Justice' self
Is here, is somewhere nigh, if thou wilt look.

[*Melanippe.*]

By the plea of hard necessity, or of expediency, we may palliate to ourselves our wrong-doing, but Euripides scornfully asks if we would charge Heaven with folly :

Ay, deemest thou the gods are so indulgent,
When by a false oath one would 'scape from death,
Or bondage, or from violence of a foe,
Or share the lawful heir's inheritance?
Sooth, duller-witted, then, are they than men,
If they prefer expediency to right.—[D.]

Since then, God is above all, and since His justice is unforgetting, and not to be deceived or bribed, it follows that men must recognise their utter dependence on Him :

We hang upon thy skirts
And that we do, it is but as thou wilt.—[*SUPPLIANTS.*]

True, the hands that reach through nature, moulding men, come out of darkness :

How manifold God's counsels are,
His ways past finding out! Lightly He turns
And sways us to and fro : sore travaileth one ;
One long unvexed is wretchedly destroyed,
Having no surety still of each day's lot.—[*HELEN.*]

Yet their operations are unmistakable :

Is the godhead too great
For thy ken to descry,
And the footsteps of fate
Can thine eyes not espy?
Yet daily are this man and that driven this way and that
way thereby.—[*Andromeda.*]

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And it is for men to learn the lessons of trust and contentment :

Praise to the God who shaped in order's mould
Our lives redeemed from chaos and the brute,
First, by implanting reason, giving then
The tongue, word-herald, to interpret speech ;
Earth's fruit for food, for nurturing thereof
Raindrops from heaven, to feed earth's fosterlings,
And water her green bosom ; therewithal
Shelter from storm, and shadow from the heat. . . .
Are we not arrogant then, when all life's needs
God giveth, therewith not to be content ?
But our presumption stronger fain would be
Than God : we have gotten overweening hearts,
And dream that we be wiser than the gods.

[SUPPLIANTS.]

Men must do their best and leave the issue with God—

Now act thyself, then call upon the gods :

For God helps him that toils to help himself—[*Hippolytos.*]

not vexing themselves overmuch as to that issue :

Nothing betides to men save through the gods :

Yet make we much ado, hope-spurred, in vain

Toiling and moiling, knowing clearly nought.—[*Thyestes.*]

Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain
that build it :

Without God's help no mortal prospereth,
Nor is advanced. The plans of mortal men,
Of gods unholpen, do I laugh to scorn.—[*D.*]

No man is friendless who hath God to friend :

When the gods honour us we need not friends :

God's help sufficeth, when He wills it so.

[*HERCULES MAD.*]

Mightier is one just man than many unjust,
Since God and Justice are upon his side.—[*Palamedes.*]

One only thing I need, all gods to have

Which reverence right : for where these are, they give
Victory. Naked valour nought avails

To men, except it have the gods' goodwill.—[*SUPPLIANTS.*]

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But, whether in warfare or in business, success is for righteous dealing :

None who makes war unjustly comes safe home.

[*Erechtheus.*]

With help of gods wise leaders ought to advance
The spear, but never in the gods' despite.—[*Erechtheus.*]

For worthier honour one's own substance is
Than plunder. Never riches got unjustly
Are held securely.

[*Erechtheus.*]

And, lest men should think to bribe Heaven with rich offerings, he said :

Oftentimes do I

See poor men who are wiser than the rich,
And hands that bring small offerings to the gods
More reverent than slayers of hecatombs.—[*Danaë.*]

Be sure, when one doth reverent sacrifice,
Though small his offering be, he gains salvation.—[*D.*]

Had there come to the poet's ear from over-sea an echo of the words of Micah—"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God"—when he left this swan-song for the chorus of Athens to sing :

Thus shall one gain him a sorrowless life, if he keepeth
his soul

Sober in spirit, and swift in obedience to Heaven's control,
Murmuring not, neither pressing beyond his mortality's goal.
No such presumptuous wisdom I covet : I seek for mine
own—

Yea, in the quest is mine happiness—things that not so
may be known,

Glorious wisdom and great, from the days everlasting forth
shown,

Even to fashion in pureness my life and in holiness aye,
Following ends that are noble from dawn to the death of
the day,

Honouring gods, and refusing to walk in injustice's way.
[*BACCHÆ.*]

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From our recognition of our right attitude to God, and our duty towards Him, spring right conceptions of our duty to our neighbour and to ourselves. We find that Euripides traversed the whole field of human duty and ideals as completely as St. Paul. He urged the paramount necessity for upright dealing:

Acquire not wealth unjustly, if thou would'st fain
Dwell in thine halls long: for ill-gotten gain
Entering a home brings ruin in its train,—[*Erechtheus.*]

since a curse cleaves to wealth gotten by vanity :

For each man ought to get himself such gains
As he shall never grieve for afterward,—[*Kresphontes.*]

and unfairness and spite are adders that sting those that nurse them :

How goodly a prize, to win a righteous cause !
And how is wrong an evil everywhere ;
And how much viler than unselfishness
Are scandal's tongue and false pride's jealousy.—[*D.*]

He knows that whoso liveth in pleasure is dead while he liveth,—

Whoso hath this world's good, and recklessly
Wasting his household's substance, lets it fleet,
In revel joyeth, hunts for this alone,
Useless in sloth shall be to home and state,
And to his friends naught. Character is gone
When one by pleasure's sweets is overborne—[*Antiope.*]

and that pleasure is an evil goal to run for :

Never was man who, coveting life's sweets,
Attained renown ; this must ye win by toil.—[*Archelaus.*]

He proclaimed the dignity of labour as earnestly as the Apostle—

Beseems it not that I
Should toil ? Without toil who attains renown ?
What slothful man to the highest ever strained ?
[*Archelaus.*]

Honour is twin-born with unnumbered toils—[*Archelaus.*]

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and pointed out that it was a begetter of heart-ease :

Flinch not from duty : strenuous toil that takes
Occasion by the hand, is friend
And mother of all bliss to men, and makes
Joy at the latter end.—[*Temenos.*]

He, too, would have men, in whatsoever state they were,
therewith to be content—

'Tis best of all to quarrel not with Heaven,
But acquiesce in fate. Desire of things
Impossible makes many lose the present—[D.]

to recognise, and make the best of, the hard facts of life :

We must not chafe against the facts of life :
Nought care they ; but if he who encounters them
Doth make the best of facts, he prospereth.

[*Bellerophon.*]

He who prayed, "Give me neither poverty nor riches ;
feed me with food convenient for me," had a brother-spirit
in Euripides :

Mine be the middle state,
Mine be a temperate board ;
Not mine be wealth unseasonably great
In overflowing hoard.—[D.]

When the Philippians were told by St. Paul that he had
learned to keep a constant mind in whatsoever state he was,
some of them may have been reminded how a certain one
also of Hellas's poets had said :

Let no good fortune ever be so great
As to uplift thee with unseemly pride ;
Nor slave-like cower beneath misfortune's stroke ;
But be thou still the same : unblemished keep
Thy character, as gold tried in the fire.—[D.]

When St. Paul cried from his dungeon, "I have fought a
good fight," he set his seal to the truth that for noble effort
in a noble cause there is no such thing as failure, a truth
which Euripides had proclaimed long before—

Those who have nobly died, say I,
More truly live than who exist ignobly—[*Erechtheus.*]

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and "there is laid up for me a crown of life" is the assurance of that which was hoped for by him who wrote :

Though one fail, greatly failing, he
By death wins immortality.—[*Aigens.*]

Our attainment of the true ideal in character is proved by our right discharge of our duty towards our neighbour—and, first, to the fatherland, which comprehends all who have the first claim on our service. The patriotism which burns through the Epistle to the Romans would seem the most natural thing to all citizens of Greek communities. As Professor Campbell says :

To serve other men by doing the duty that lies nearest ; to live for mankind by self-devotion to the interests of a community, however small or obscure ; to realise one's higher self in ministering to others, are Christian conceptions which find an added support in the life of heathenism.

Euripides reminded men that they were members of one body with all their fellow-citizens—

One's country prospering makes each citizen
Aye greater : her misfortune makes him weak—
[*Philoctetes.*]

that they begat children but for their country's sake :

Once more, for this cause children do we bear,
To fence the fanes of gods and fatherland.
My country, O that all who people thee
May love thee even as I!—then shall we dwell
At ease in thee, thou never suffer harm.—[*Erechtheus.*]

But an abstract patriotism is naught unless it means also recognition of the details of social duty, beginning with that to our rulers :

Be with thy rulers not at strife.
"Honour the King"—so bids the ancient law.—[*Dictys.*]

That children should obey their parents was right, on grounds not only of Christian, but of heathen morality :

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A sorry son
Is he that pays not service-debt to parents.
Who giveth of love's best, by his own sons
For all he hath given his parents is repaid.

[SUPPLIANTS.]

They recognised that the very stirrings of our blood
prompt this :

Nought is to children sweeter than the mother.
Sons, love your mother ; for there is no love
Other than this more sweet to love withal;—[*Erechtheus.*]

and that he who honours not his parents is a peril to those
around him :

Who reverenceth his parents all his days,
Dear to the gods in life, in death, is he ;
But whoso will not honour them that bare him,
Ne'er may he sacrifice to gods with me,
Nor ever voyage in one ship with me.—[D.]

Yet Euripides, no less than Paul, remembered that from
parents is due consideration for their children's feelings :

If parents would but bear this thing in mind,
That they were young once, they would not be harsh
To young hearts, so they be not churls in grain.—[D.]

"Honour all men," wrote St. Paul, and was himself an
example of self-respecting courtesy. So, too, Euripides puts
into the mouth of a father counselling his son :

First, thou must bear a spirit of courtesy ;
Render to rich and poor alike their due ;
So make thyself respected by all men.—[*Erechtheus.*]

He reminded men of that rarer courtesy which confers a
favour with the air of receiving one :

Whoso in noble spirit doeth favours
Sweetens them in the doing : they who do them
Grudging and late, theirs is the spirit of churls.

[*Erechtheus.*]

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Paul, in cautioning men against evil companionships, and Shakespeare, when he wrote,

It is meet
That noble minds keep ever with their likes,
For who so firm that cannot be seduced?

[JUL. CAES. i. 2.]

were at one with him who had already said :

If thy companion be a wicked man,
He trains his comrades to be like himself :
So trains the good the good. Young men, make haste
To follow after good companionships.—[*Peliades*.]

For friends, choose men not dissolute in talk ;
And against evil men, who court thy favour
By pandering to thy pleasures, shut thy door.

[*Erechtheus*.]

He recognised that magnetic attraction which draws the evil to the evil, and the good to the good :

The good man never hateth the good man :
The wicked wallows in pleasure with the wicked.
Ay, "like to like" brings men together still.—[*Bellerophon*.]

A pathetic interest is imparted to such teaching as the foregoing by the reflection that it was based upon no optimistic views of human life and human destiny. To the Christian who looks upon this life as the preparation for an infinitely higher and fuller existence hereafter, the motive and the incentive to making the best of life are obvious ; and all our actions and all our experiences here are to the eye of faith in a manner transfigured by the fore-glow of the dawn of the life eternal. But it is difficult for us to realise how hard it was for those old Greeks, who in this life only had hope, to turn aside from easy and pleasant paths at the call of Duty, "stern daughter of the voice of God," when she brought them no assurance of hope that obedience to her precepts would lift the burden of despair from life, or lighten the darkness beyond. And so Euripides, by reason of his deep sympathy with humanity,

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could not but reflect the inherent sadness that was at the back of the Greek mind. "Never to have been born," said Sophocles, "is the happiest lot of all ; and, next to that, to depart with all speed thither whence thou camest." So too, Euripides, when the shadows of being hung dark, praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive :

Well were it done if, gathering, we should wail
The new-born for his heritage of ills,
But speed with mirth and glad cries forth his home
Him who hath died and gotten rest from toils ;
[*Kresphontes.*]

seeing that all man's days are sorrows and his travail grief :

Life?—it is but another name for trouble.—[D.]

And, though men should snatch a little joy under the sun, theirs was still the haunting thought of the uncertainty of its tenure :

He who hath trodden prosperous paths must not
Dream the same fortune shall for aye be his :
For God, I wot—if we must call Him God—
Tires of consorting with the same folk aye.
Mortal prosperity is mortal : pride,
That trusts the future shall be as the past,
Receives in suffering the rebuke of fortune.—[D.]

Men could no more control their lives than they could control the seasons :

That which, whate'er it be, we name the heaven,
Is all the same, say I, as human fortune.
This sendeth forth the summer's splendour bright,
Gathers dense clouds, and makes the tempest rise,
Makes things to grow and fade, to live and die.
So too of mortal seed : it prospereth some
In sunny peace ; with clouds it darkens some,
And they with evils dwell : some, lapped in wealth,
Yet like the shifting seasons wane away.—[*Danae.*]

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Their hearts failed them at the thought of what might
any day befall :

The future terrifies us day by day,
Since threatened ill is more than present pain.

[*Andromeda.*]

All men were linked in the sad brotherhood of one
destiny :

For all mankind this thing remains, to die ;
And this our common lot is a common bond
Of sympathy.

[*Temenidae.*]

How cold seems to us the best comfort that could be
given :

Lady, receive thou this my counselling :—
Never was man born but to toil and pain.
He burieth children, getteth him new babes,
And dies himself ; yet men are grieved hereat,
When dust to dust they bear : needs must it be
That death like corn-shocks garner lives of men,
That this man be, that be no more. Now why
Mourn what all must through nature's law pass through ?
There is no horror in the inevitable.—[*Hypsipyle.*]

The Greek, if asked what would become of him after death, could only reply, "I do not know : I cannot say that I hope." The comparatively clear-cut representation of a world of conscious shadows which we find in Homer, had no longer a place in literature, still less in men's belief. Certain sects, such as the Orphic mystics, held vague doctrines of immortality, of retribution linked with atonement for sin. In the great Eleusinian Mysteries, the secret of which has been so jealously kept that through all the ages their revelations have been a sealed book, the initiated gathered inspiration and a hope, perhaps a confidence, that they had gained a passport to a better after-existence than awaited the common herd of men. Plutarch wrote :

To die is to be initiated into the great mysteries. . . . It is there that man, having become perfect through his new initiation, restored to liberty, really master of himself, celebrates,

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crowned with myrtle, the most august mysteries, holds converse with just and pure souls, and sees with contempt the impure multitude of the profane or uninitiated, ever plunged or sinking of itself into the mire and in profound darkness.

And yet—perhaps because the revelations given depended for their sanction on the belief in deities whose personality was fast becoming the most unsure part of a faith outworn—we do not find that the philosophers and poets, who had all been initiated, could breathe any but an uncertain strain. Plato could argue acutely, on logical principles, for immortality : he has left us the record of mystic myths seen as in visions ; he has bequeathed to us a poet's magnificent dreams ; but when Socrates, on whom he fathers these, is face to face with death, Plato must needs make him acknowledge that, after all, he cannot tell, that to assert immortality on the one hand, or the extinction of conscious life on the other, would be to pretend to know what one does not know. So too, when Euripides spoke from the stage for all life's poor players, he must needs confess that there was indeed no more that could be said. One thing they knew, that death ended life's trouble and pain :

Lo, death to mortals bringeth end of strife.
Ah, what is mightier among men than death ?
Who, stabbing with his spear the stony rock,
Shall pain it ?—who by insult pain the dead,
If nought of all their sufferings they perceive ?

[*Antiope.*]

Better is death than life in bitterness.
No pain feels death, which hath no sense of ills.

[*TROADES.*]

Also, it ended life's opportunities, seeing there was neither work nor device in the grave, whither they were going :

In life do right : whoso hath died becomes
Shadow and dust : the nought to nought doth pass.

[*Meleager.*]

True, death might possibly be but the thin partition
between two periods of the same existence :

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Who knows if living be not one with death,
And death be living in the underworld?—[*Poluidos.*]

Who knows but living be what men call death,
And life be dying?—save that men in life
Endure affliction, but the dead no more
Afflicted are, nor taste adversity.—[*Phrixos.*]

Yet who would willingly step from the firm brink of time
on to the shoal of a "peradventure"?

If better life beyond be found,
The darkness veils, clouds wrap it round ;
Therefore infatuate-fond to this
We cling—this earth's poor sunshine-gleam :
Nought know we of the life to come ;
There speak no voices from the tomb :
We drift on fable's shadowy stream.—[*HIPPOLYTUS.*]
Dear is this light ; but Hades' nether gloom
For men to visit even in dreams is bitter.
I therefore, old as I am, none the less
Abhor it, and I never pray to die.—[*Meleager.*]

They reckoned that the sufferings of the present life were
as nothing to the heart-appalling terror of the unknown :

O men who cling to life,
Who long to see the day that next shall dawn,
Burdened 'neath countless sufferings though ye be !—
So deep doth lie the love of life in men.
For life we know, but know not what is death ;
Therefore all fear to leave the light of day.—[*Phoenix.*]

As to the destination of the component parts of this
mortal frame, they knew in part, and they imagined in part.
When a man

Late of lusty frame, like a falling star
Is quenched in death, his breath to air surrendered—[*D.*]

Let now the dead be hidden in the earth,
And each part, whence it came forth to the light,
Thither return, the breath unto the air,
To earth the body ; for we hold it not
In fee, but only to pass life therein ;
Then she which fostered it must take it back.

[*SUPPLIANTS.*]

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And was there no more to say? There is in Euripides one strain of higher mood, one hint of a qualified immortality, of which Bishop Westcott writes :

The thought suggested by these lines is, as far as I know, unique. The isolated life of the individual appears to be contrasted with a conscious participation in the divine life as man's final destiny. This participation is necessarily limited by Euripides to a part of man's nature ; but in fashioning the thought he seems to have reached the loftiest ideal accessible before the gospel :

Yea, these things bring to all men recompense
In Hades as on earth. Albeit the soul
Of the dead live not, deathless consciousness
Still hath it when in deathless æther merged.—[HELEN.]

In any wise, life was not all vanity : it was worth each man's while so to live as to leave behind him the fair renown of a good name :

Worth doth not perish, though a man have died.

[*Temenidae.*]

Even from the grave fame speaks the good man's praise.—[D.]

Since then, life, whatever might follow, could be made worth living, it behoved men to give heed to character. And herein is it better to follow the spirit than the letter of equity :

Safer than law is upright character ;
For this can none by crafty words pervert ;
But that the pleader oft turmoiling turns
This way and that, and staineth it with wrong.
[*Peirithous.*]

Success is no criterion of character :

My son, fine-spoken words may haply be
False, and by tricks of speech may overcome
The truth : yet victory is no proof of right,
But character and rectitude : who wins
By plausible speech is clever ; but I hold
Hard facts superior always to mere words—

[*Antiope.*]

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though, in the true sense, by their fruits ye shall know them :

Men's natures and their deeds ought we to mark,
To mark the lives of evil men and good,
With much persuasion to approach the wise,
But have no dealings with unrighteous men.—[*Hypsipyle.*]

Neither wealth nor high birth justifies a presumption of worth :

Art rich—yet deem not thou know'st everything !
For blockishness goes hand in hand with wealth,
And poverty for birthright wisdom gains.—[*Poluidos.*]

An evil school, I trow, for heroism
Is wealth for men, and over-luxury :
Poverty may be wretched, yet she rears
Sons better framed for toil and energy.—[*Alexandros.*]

Better than noble birth by far,
Meseemeth, noble actions are.—[*Aigeus.*]

In no country more than in Greece have men prided themselves upon high lineage, since there it implied descent from demigod heroes, nay, even from the very gods :

Yet for high birth alone scant praise have I.
The good man is the high-born in mine eyes ;
But the unrighteous—though he sprang from sires
Nobler than Zeus—base-born doth seem to me.

[*Diktys.*]

Nay, the poet even dared to utter what for us is a commonplace, but was far from being so then :

'Tis waste of words, in sons of earth
To sing the praises of high birth.
At our creation long ago
Earth made all like in outward show ;
All difference did fancy frame.
Nought do we really own : the same
In nature are the high and low :
'Twas time and wont caused pride to grow.
Wisdom is noble birth, by Heaven
Bestowed ; by wealth to none 'tis given.—[*Alexandros.*]

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Yet he recognised that noble birth is a noble heritage, if it acts as a spur to high endeavour, and helps a man to take unflinchingly the blows of fortune :

What knightly spirit and what dignity
Are in descent from noble sires implied !
Though one be poor, yet in his gentle blood
He still hath honour : oft as he recalls it,
His fathers' glory is an inspiration.—[*Temenidae.*]

The nobly born must nobly bear mischance.—[*Alkmene.*]

Though all the substance of our house be lost,
Yet noble birth and noble hearts remain.—[*D.*]

For the inheritor of a great name it was a great thought that he might enhance the glory of that name :

This, mother mine, is of possessions fairest—
Better than riches ; they have fleeting wings ;
But good sons, even though they die, remain
To the home a noble treasure, to their parents
A grace of life which never fails the house.—[*Meleagros.*]

Yet that fierce light that beats upon a throne often makes pre-eminence a galling burden :

Men of great gifts know sadder days than dullards ;
For to stand as the mark of all men's censure—
This is misfortune, not good fortune this.—[*Poluidos.*]

But pre-eminence misplaced !—the wise man did well to be envious at the prosperity of the foolish :

When in a state a bad man prospereth,
He maketh sick the souls of better men,
Who see such evidence of evil's power.—[*Poluidos.*]

and with scorn they marked how still "the fool layeth open his folly" :

Men cannot find a darkness so intense,
Nor earth-mound so close-muffling, that therein
The fool may hide his nature, and be wise.—[*Peleus.*]

It was well, too, that men should be preserved from arrogance, by bethinking themselves of the uncertainty of prosperity :

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Look not scornful-eyed

On men unfortunate : thou art but man.—[*Ino.*]

Euripides recognised as truly as did St. Peter¹ that growth in moral stature must depend upon the cultivation of character :

More precious treasure there is none than virtue :

This is to lucre not subservient,

Nor to high birth, nor flattery of the mob.

Nay, but the more thou makest use of virtue,

The more it groweth and is perfected.—[*D.*]

That this growth might be natural, the child should be trained up in the way he should go :

I know thy son is schooled in self-control,

Associates with the good, and fears the gods.

How should he then from such a character

Grow bad? None ever shall persuade me this.—[*D.*]

But no training could efface evil influences of the home :

For none so perfectly shall train our children

That wicked parents shall not have bad sons.—[*D.*]

Many a Greek who had sown his wild oats proved what it was to possess the sins of his youth :

Thou in thy boyhood shun disgraceful acts.

He that is virtuously reared will blush,

When grown to man, to do foul deeds ; but he

Whose youth was full of sin doth to old age

Possess youth's sins, deep-rooted in his nature.—[*D.*]

Euripides was no closet-philosopher, profuse of precept, and taking practice for granted. He, like St. Paul, had found a law that, when a man would do good, evil is present with him :

All this whereof thou warnest me I know ;

But for my wisdom nature is too strong.—[*Chrysippos.*]

Ah, a strange evil among men is this,

When what is good we know, but practise not.

[*Chrysippos.*]

¹ 2 Pet. i. 5-7.

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The poet who understood and sympathised with the difficulties of men, understood and sympathised with their sorrows also. He bids us with kind words drop balm upon the wounded spirit :

Ah, grieve thou with me ! for the stricken-souled,
Who with a friend his tears may share,
Hath from his shoulders half his burden rolled
Of grief and care. [Andromeda.]

Each ailment hath its several medicine.
Kind words of friends can heal the sorrowing heart ;
And admonition oft is folly's cure.—[D.]

He warns against seeking illusive consolation in the wine-cup :

There is for men no healing balm for pain
Like comfort from a good man and a friend.
But whoso, when involved in this affliction,
By drinking deep excites and calms his soul,
For transitory joy soon doubly groans.—[D.]

The unsympathetic is of kin to him who shutteth up his bowels of compassion against his brother in need :

'Tis churlishness that sheds no tears of pity :
'Tis baseness that, when one has wealth enough,
With rascal thrift refuses help to men.—[Ino.]

Surely he had proved that it is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, who, with the insight of love, wrote of the relief of tears :

Even in affliction pleasure mortals find
In lamentations and in streaming tears ;
Yea, this brings lightening to the soul's distress,
And ease to the sore travail of the heart.—[Oinomaos.]

Even with the tears fast raining from our eyes,
One drop of sweetness mingles, when our sighs
Are for the dear dead in the house that lies.

[Archelaos.]

Not idleness is this, but the strange pleasure
To talk one's sorrows o'er, and weep again.—[Oineus.]

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Yet he pointed out the error of morbid indulgence in grief :

Why leav'st thou not the dead to rest in death ?

Why gather up the wine of sorrow spilt ?—[*Melanippe.*]

But he would touch the bruised reed gently, as knowing how practice halts behind precept :

To know this is the one thing first of all—

To bear whate'er befalls without repining.

Such man is noblest ; him misfortunes gall

Less deeply. Ah, but in this strain to talk

We know : to act thus is beyond our power.

[*Oinomaos.*]

Yet, for whoso is able to receive it, it is well to " know how sublime a thing it is to suffer and be strong " :

Though the gods mete thee suffering, still be strong.

[*Telephos.*]

To this end, let a man be armed with preparation :

I learnt this of a wise man long ago,

And schooled my thoughts on destined ills to dwell,

Picturing exiled wanderings to and fro,

Untimely deaths, and other ways of woe,

That, when each stroke my soul foreboded fell,

My heart uncrushed might bear the long-expected blow.

[*Theseus.*]

It is something, too, to know oneself not to be passing through deep waters alone, to touch in thought the many hands that all about this earth are also left empty. As Tennyson, thinking on the myriads to whom, like himself, that dawn brought memories of death, said :

O, wheresoever these may be

Betwixt the slumber of the poles,

To-day they count as kindred souls ;

They know me not, but mourn with me.

So Euripides gives to a desolate heart the utterance of a like thought :

Not I alone am childless made by death

And widowed. Women numberless have drained

The selfsame cup of bitterness as I.—[*Kresphontes.*]

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This poet, by the deep insight of sympathy, knew how many bereaved ones, "wild with all regret," when the time has gone by for showing kindness to the living, when the unappreciated are appreciated too late, and there is nothing to say save, "Oh, if I had but known!" learn the lesson that death only teaches:

Experience made me wise—
And took from me, in payment for the lesson,
All that I had of dearest.—[*Kresphontes.*]

Of such sort were the lessons which the Greek-speaking world (which then included the whole civilised world) could learn from but one of its many teachers. To quote from the concluding chapter of Professor Campbell's admirable and most suggestive book:

Not only an intellectual, but an ethical standard had been set up, whose influence extended far and wide wherever Greek culture spread, not moulding states indeed, but guiding and controlling many individual lives. . . . So also, not as hostile to Christianity, nor as a rival to it, but as conspiring with it, in a lower grade, if you will, it may be said that those things noble and of good report which lie enshrined in the records of centuries before Christ still remain to prove their healing and elevating effect on human life; and the noblest among these are Hebrew prophecy and Hellenic culture, of which the *religion* of the ancient Greeks is the highest and not the least important aspect. . . . That in two races so entirely separate from each other as the Hebrew and the Greek, the development of spiritual and moral conceptions should have so much in common, is a welcome evidence of our belief that mankind are not deserted by their Creator, but are drawn continually upwards in the course of a divine education. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."

ARTHUR S. WAY.

THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY AS REFLECTED IN "IN MEMORIAM."

ANYONE who takes up *In Memoriam* for the first time to give it but a cursory reading will probably carry away a fourfold feeling, not altogether favourable to the poem: he will think it formless; he will be struck by the predominance and obtrusiveness of the personal note; he will, more than likely, pronounce it melancholy; and he will ask himself whether the praise of the dead friend is not excessive, fulsome, and therefore somewhat unreal. A little further examination of it, however, would cause him to revise or recall such a verdict. For a clear plan and articulation of the whole would begin to emerge to his mind, even though he had never happened to stumble across Tennyson's own marking out of it. "The divisions of the poem," the author says, "are made by First Christmas Eve (Section XXVIII.), Second Christmas Eve (LXXVIII.), and Third Christmas Eve (CIV., CV.)." Then, as to the personal note, the critical reader would soon come to discern not only that that was inevitable in a poem of private friendship, and passionate regret for its loss, but he would also begin to see that the personality of the author becomes typical rather than private, so to speak; that Tennyson is always conscious of a larger self than his own,—the self of suffering, doubting, and hoping humanity, among whom he is indeed a unit, and a notable unit, but, by virtue of his dower of imagination, a high illustrative example too. In fact, the reader who started with the sense of self-obtrusion, on the part of the poet, would soon come to parallel the modern singer with the psalm-writer of the Old Testament who speaks not for himself but for the Church-Nation, and in all his wailings, and even his

invectives and invocations of vengeance, is considering not his own little case alone, but the plight and the needs of a great suffering community of which he is a humble yet at the same time a representative member. To quote the poet again : "The 'I' is not always the author speaking of himself, but the voice of the human race speaking through him."

As to the melancholy, that is so far granted. It may occasionally be expressed with an approach to the morbid ; the poet's invocation to Sorrow to come and be his perpetual bride and wife may seem to border now and then on the grotesque ; but a saner mood soon supervenes. If grief steeps and sways the first of the four sections into which the poem may be divided, that cannot be said of the others. There is a clear progress out of poignant and perhaps somewhat theatric sorrow, into calm hope, an almost untroubled peace, and, at the very end, even a triumphant joy. "Fulsome"—that is scarcely the word to apply to the eulogies of this elegy. It may be that to some extent death does very often deify, the haze of tears gives a deceptive refraction, the light of the inner regard breaks into rainbow hues over the object of affection through the prism of those tears, but let Tennyson himself remind us—"Ye never knew the sacred dead." More, however, of this anon.

As a matter of fact we have here touched one of the chief factors in the raising of the problem of Immortality which is the burden of the book. To the relatively loose outer unity of the poem there is conjoined a deeper subject-unity. The one topic is man's future life, or in the words of our title : "The Doctrine of Immortality." That is the thread on which are strung all the pearls of the poem. The rooms straggle, but they make one house. There are many branches and twigs, and some of them stretch far out, but there is, all the same, one tree. This problem of Man's Immortality was constituted for the author in two chief ways—a personal and an impersonal, a trite and an exceptional. He had lost the one friend of his lifetime, in

whose place he could install no other. To him came thus his phase of the everyday lot of man. "Never morning wears to evening but some heart breaks" over loved ones snatched away into the airy arms of the unseen. But to the general woe there is added, in this case, the specially moving circumstance that, by independent and universal consent, the young life so summarily called back to the deep whence it came, at the tragically early age of twenty-two, was a life of marvellous potencies and almost unprecedented promise. Tennyson's estimate is here buttressed by the opinion of many others, eminently capable of judging. He could confidently appeal from those who did not know the dead to those who did. Mr. Gladstone says that Hallam "would have built up his own enduring monument, and bequeathed to his country a name in all likelihood greater than that of his very distinguished father. His ever-searching mind had a rapid, full, and rich development." Kemble wrote: "If ever a man was born for great things, he was. Never was a more powerful intellect joined to a purer heart." Thirlwall confessed: "He is the only man here [at Cambridge], of my own standing, before whom I bow in conscious inferiority in everything." Alford declared: "I long ago set him down for the most wonderful person I ever knew."

The problems of death, the grave, and the after-life were thus raised for Tennyson in their most acute form. The loss was not a common one. The passing of Arthur was, by general consent, the taking off of one of "the sweetest souls that ever looked with human eyes." There was death—that is sufficiently dismaying and disturbing whenever it comes; there was more here—the death of genius and goodness before their full flowering, and when their promise was extraordinary.

When beggars die there are no comets seen,
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.

Here was a prince of men gone, one who would have achieved immortal things. Is there any reason or any love,

L.Q.R., OCTOBER, 1903.

or anything but foolish witless waste, in such events? Why do the good and great die first? That is one way then, the common and yet the uncommon, in which the burden and the mystery were brought home to Tennyson's own mind. It is the old way, as old as the death of Abel, and as new as yesterday.

But there was another, and for Tennyson, mentally made up as he was, one even more excruciating. "Men's thoughts," says he elsewhere, "are widened with the process of the suns"; and yet it is often too true that we must buy with a great sum that widening. Problems are not seldom part of the price we have to pay for progress. The difficulties grow upon us with the growing complexity of conditions and with the strengthening energy and sharper edge of human thinking. There is ever more to see, and we keep getting more power to see and to feel. Tennyson's loss fell at a world-epoch when an old orthodoxy was dissolving, when venerable formulas of thought were straining and snapping. Science was opening up new worlds and new questions, and our poet stood at the parting of the ways. If he could have kept his eyes reverted, looking backwards only, he need not have been so disconcerted. The old faith was a fairly complacent one. Its apologetic, its scheme of thought "to justify the ways of God to men," was unquestioningly optimistic. In fact to many, to most, of the old natural-theology writers the divine doings did not seem to call for much justifying. Paley and Butler are the great names of the old school, whose reign was ending when Tennyson began to think and sing. Paley's *Natural Theology*—copied in method by so many "Bridgewater Treatises"—was based upon the principle that nature is essentially kindly, that the end of divine contrivance in the outer world is good, and nothing but good. That God is wise and that God is beneficent were held to be demonstrated by the facts of nature and by the philosophy which then interpreted those facts. Teeth were made to eat with, not to ache: pleasure was the end of the contrivance, not pain; the aching was an accident. When Butler set to

work to answer the objections to revealed religion—that is to certain things in the Bible which were alleged to be contrary to reason and right—he took his stand on ground that was common, in the main, to himself and to his opponents. The general postulate of the time, among Deists and Christians alike, was that the world meant good. There was an order and constitution of nature which all recognised to be benevolent in intention and effect even when it punished infractions of it—the work, in a word, of a Being who was at once intelligent and benignant. "Now," said Butler, "you have difficulties in nature, but that does not prevent your ascribing nature to a good and wise God; why then should difficulties in revelation any more stagger and drive you into disbelief?" It was a brave *argumentum ad hominem*. It attacked the enemy on his own premises. It said: "You grant so much, then you must logically grant the rest. If you go with us a mile, you ought to go twain; you cannot fairly stop half way." For ourselves, we never could quite see that we honestly clear away difficulties by doubling them, any more than we get out of debt by borrowing twenty pounds to pay ten. For here was the real point that came home to, and pierced, minds like Tennyson's. They said: "We cannot go the two miles, simply because we cannot first go the one. Our difficulty is to make a start at all. Here is where we stick—Is nature good? Is she so fair and so kind as you think?" From his great predecessor, Wordsworth, Tennyson had received the faith that "nature never did betray the heart that loved her." But it was not a faith he could keep. His fate was to fall on days when doubt of the old easy-going optimism was gathering force. And his was a mind quick to receive the germs of new thought from the intellectual air around him. He read and pondered till he saw it was no longer possible to praise nature as of old. She does things, indeed, which seem crimes. She is prodigal, callous, and cynical. She delights in waste and suffering. "Of fifty seeds she often brings but one to bear." She cares neither for the well-being of the individual nor for the continuance of the type.

She returns a "No" to our dreams of good. What room does she leave for faith in God, or for hope in any future for His highest earthly creature, man? Whatever others had done, Tennyson

found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;
Nor thro' the questions men may try,
The petty cobwebs we have spun.

And it was not Darwin who tutored him, nor even the author of *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*; for *The Origin of Species* did not appear till 1859, nearly ten years after *In Memoriam* was published, and we know, on the most trustworthy authority, that the sections of the poem touching on evolution had been read by his friends some years before the appearance of the *Vestiges*. In November, 1844, Tennyson wrote to Moxon to ask him to procure a copy of the book, saying: "It seems to contain many speculations with which I have been familiar for years, and on which I have written more than one poem." Romanes writes: "In *In Memoriam* Tennyson noted the facts, and a few years later Darwin supplied the explanation."

So that, as we see, to the stress of the problem started by personal loss—the grief of the tender friend-heart—there were added the problem and the pain produced by the stress of changing conditions of thought. And no one can say that Tennyson shirks the weight of the trouble thus become gigantic even to crushing. He paints the outlook at its blackest. He steadily faces the spectres. He sets up no man of straw. The negative argument from nature was never put more relentlessly:

Thou makest thine appeal to me:
I bring to life, I bring to death:
The spirit does but mean the breath:
I know no more.

"I care for nothing"—no more for the species than for the

single life,—not even for your best, you proud son of man,
in mind, in prayer, in love, in steadfast purpose.

O life as futile, then, as frail !

What hope of answer, or redress ?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.

That constitutes the climax-point of the poem, so far as its exhibition of the great enigma is concerned. How can I have hope even for Hallam when this is, so far as can be seen, the sum and "secret meaning" of things ? So strongly is the problem posed, that the poet hints a temptation to stop his writing at this point and advance not one inch beyond. It looks like a blind alley, with no way out except by going drearily back ; but what use in that ?

At the darkest, however, the light begins to dawn. Or rather it has dawned, only the poet has had his face turned to the sombre sunless west, the place where the orb of day last went down, to reappear, as he thought, no more. To change the metaphor: buried beneath the grief in the poet's soul has lain an unperceived, unrealised thought, a bare grain, but withal vital with most teeming possibilities. You note it even in that last canto quoted :

Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,

No more ?

Ah ! there is the chink through which the light begins to steal in ; there is the microscopic core of the all-containing seed. Nature ! How much does it include ? Does the term shut man out, or take man in ? If the former, then, says Tennyson, I appeal to man as against nature ; if the latter, nature cannot oppose a bare negative to my hopes.

It need not be said to those who know *In Memoriam* well or, better still, Tennyson and his work in general, which of these alternatives he adopts. Man cannot be separated from nature in the best and broadest sense of that word. He is part of the sum of things, of the things that are made. There is not a dualism, but a unity—"One God, one law, one element, and one far-off divine event"—for, as his son

tells us, Tennyson was more than inclined to think that the theory of evolution enables us "to regard the life of nature as a lower stage in the manifestation of a principle which is more fully manifested in the spiritual life of man," and that "in this process of evolution the lower is to be regarded as a means to the higher." Within that unity, however, though all the time subject to it, there is perceived a distinction and a process. Man is in nature, but with something specific about him. Man is in nature, but that something specific in him has been developed by a purposeful process, of which we see the dim, preliminary workings even in the creatures below him, and which must be conceived as still going on. There is, in a word, a law of continuity in nature—regarded as a vast whole—and in the world's history; and that law of continuity inevitably suggests, though it may not demonstrate, an after-life. Past and present, being such as they have been and are, guarantee a future—nay, to the divine eye is there any distinction at all of succession in time? "To Him is no before" or after, for He hath power "to see within the green the mouldered tree, and towers fallen as soon as built." Nature tends, as it would seem, to fulfilment, to completion, to a rounded perfectness, to "projected efficiency," according to Benjamin Kidd's latest formula, and to this prophetic efficiency, not for the race only, but for the individual. Nature has come up as far as man, as we know him; does not her anterior course demand an after? Is immortality not a necessary conclusion to the long sorites of all the ages gone?

In a word, what Tennyson builds on, what he argues from, is the spiritual nature of man, of Hallam, and of the evolving man of whom Hallam is the type. As he once said: "A being who can love as man loves, yet is doomed to perish, is a monster, a dream; and so would a God be who could be supposed to create him." It is a profound mistake to say or suppose that Tennyson rests on the suggestions of the heart alone for his practical conviction of immortality, and takes no account of the spiritual or

higher reason. He does not so divide man up. Else he would only have said what had been said a hundred times before, and would have had no message for an age whose main difficulty is an intellectual one. His aim is a philosophy, but a philosophy which includes all the factors. It is common, in quoting his words,—

A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd "I have felt,"—

to stop there. But Tennyson goes on :

No, like a child in doubt and fear :
But that blind clamour made me wise ;
Then was I as a child that cries,
But, crying, knows his father near ;

And what I am beheld again
What is, and no man understands ;
And out of darkness came the hands
That reach thro' nature, moulding men.

It is ever an error, most grave and gross as we must think, to oppose heart and reason. In a normal man feeling and intellect can never be at odds. The heart has its reasons, and acts on them. The true opposition—if there be one—is between the higher and the lower reason ; but who shall draw the line even as to these ? The fashion is to speak of mathematical truth as absolute, and of moral truth as only relative ; but, as a matter of fact, neither is absolute—no form of human knowing can be. Cambridge wranglers tell us that they can pursue their study of conics only a little way before they pass, and pass perforce, into the transcendental sphere of infinities and fourth-dimensional speculations. More than one of Euclid's famous axioms cannot be realised in thought, and one at least of them can only be accepted within finite limits, so that the propositions depending upon it are not rigorously demonstrated. Yet they cannot well be dispensed with in mathematical rea-

soning. It is high time to begin to recognise and insist that the physicist knows no more about the real nature of his atoms and molecules—nor can know more—than we know about the nature of mind and soul; and yet he claims, and we allow his claim, to be rational and scientific. The mathematician knows that the “straight lines” he talks about were never drawn on any black-board nor his “circles” ever seen by human eyes, and yet his demonstrations do not suffer; but he is made aware thereby, if he be open-minded and duly humble, of an ideal world which is just as real as the phenomenal world. If religion is not rational, nothing else is; and we should have done with the folly of surrendering “reason” to the scientists, while keeping for ourselves only a blind and vague thing we call feeling. It is suicidal to bisect thus the unity of the soul and to forswear any part of it.

The same science, then, which raised Tennyson's doubts came in to settle them. He did not seek peace by shutting his eyes, but by opening them to a wider vision. Charles James Fox used to maintain that the cure for the evils of liberty is not less but more liberty; and so we would say, in Tennyson's very spirit too, that the cure for the evils of thought is more thought. To bring his argument to a point: there is a real spiritual in man, whose sign and speech are love; that spiritual in man is the proof of the spiritual in God, and these two infer and certify an after-life in which the ideals they enclose are to be fully and eternally evolved and satisfied. No claim is here made that this is an original argument, but simply that it is put by Tennyson with unique imaginative power, only excelled, if excelled at all, by Robert Browning. And of the two, Tennyson is much the more tuneful.

The two later cycles of the poem are more or less steeped in this thought, that the warrant for immortality, so far as there is one, lies in the spiritual nature which man has come to share with God. And so the poet reserves for these cycles the description in detail of what Hallam was; and, indeed, confessedly idealises to some extent, in order to set forth his

conception of the true dignity and content of humanity. Superficially it would seem as if these eulogies should have appeared in the first cycle, where the author is bemoaning his loss and is absorbed in his grief. They might well have been introduced then as showing how much cause he had to sorrow, and to justify his tearful elegies ; but coming where they do, they are meant to suggest that, now he has got hold of the clue that worth constitutes the warrant of the life to come, he can give his affection and his lofty encomia of his friend full and unimpeded way. They cannot become an occasion of his being put to confusion. The more he sees in Hallam, the more he is assured that Hallam is destined for the undying life. He feels now that his estimate is countersigned by God, who has written upon all such excellence, "Thou shalt live, and not die."

As to the other world thus confirmed to his spiritual reason, Tennyson refrains from all attempts at topography. He will not map it out ; he will not commit himself to any delimitation of its provinces. His friend Aubrey de Vere—recently dead—once urged him to add a "Paradiso" to *In Memoriam* ; but he answered, "I have written what I have felt and known, and I will never write anything else." Speculations innumerable, suggested and so left, are scattered throughout the poem. Almost every school of thought in eschatology may find something here to illustrate, if not support, its theories and teachings.

As to the origin of the soul, he appears to have always consistently thought of it as emerging from some deep of larger spiritual being, detaching itself, or being detached, for purposes of independent life, from what he calls "the general Soul." In the very last canto of the poem, before the formal Epilogue, he speaks of

The truths that never can be proved
Until we close with all we loved,
And all we flow from, soul in soul.

Compare also the hint in the Epilogue itself :

A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds,
And, moved thro' life of lower phase,
Result in man.

To the end he appears to have clung to this thought, as witness "Crossing the Bar":

When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

There are even hints of pre-existence and re-incarnation in *In Memoriam*, and they can be readily paralleled elsewhere in his poetry, notably in the "Two Voices," written about the same time as some of the earlier cantos of our poem. Infancy, he dimly suggests, before "the door-ways of the head" (the sutures of the skull) are closed, may, perhaps, best be taken as a part of pre-existence rather than of the earthly existence; for until the soul of the child has become self-conscious its present-life experience cannot properly be said to have begun. Even before that, however,

the hoarding sense
Gives out at times (he knows not whence)
A little flash, a mystic hint

of the soul-deeps whence it came.

Whither, and to what, goes man's spirit at death? A possibility contemplated in one canto is that

every spirit's folded bloom
Thro' all its interval gloom
In some long trance should slumber on.

The "interval gloom" is the period of quiescence between two lives. In this sleep memory and love are but folded up, as the shut flower still holds its fragrance, to be given out in the morning.

But more generally the idea is of death as a second birth into some sort of immediate and larger activity, a life dis-

encumbered of the limitations and defects of the former earthly one.

Doubtless unto thee is given
A life that bears immortal fruit,
In such great offices as suit
The full-grown energies of heaven.

Hallam has become to the poet's conviction "a lord of large experience," exchanging thought "with all the circle of the wise." His soul with "vaster motions" now circumnavigates "a higher height, a deeper deep." Beyond the ken of earth, somewhere, he is set to do something noble which "is wrought with tumult of acclaim." The after-life is an endless progression—

Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks.

It may be a process of successive embodiments in sphere after sphere, but the loyal soul in each embodiment reaches a higher stage of being approximating more and more nearly to God.

And that raises the question of recognition—shall we know and be known there? The poet is pretty positive about that. In spite of the swifter developments of the after-death state—

Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside;
And I shall know him when we meet:

And we shall sit at endless feast,
Enjoying each the other's good.

But, curiously enough, Tennyson plays in a somewhat paradoxical and cryptic way with the idea of absorption. He seems alternately attracted and repelled by it. But perhaps the point of reconciliation lies here: it is more the notion of immediate than of ultimate absorption which is distasteful to him. Thus he closes the very canto I have just quoted from as follows:

(Love) seeks at least
 Upon the last and sharpest height,
 Before the spirits fade away,
 Some landing-place, to clasp and say,
 "Farewell ! We lose ourselves in light."

Or as he once remarked to a friend :

If the absorption into the divine in the after-life be the creed of some, let them, at all events, allow us many existences of individuality before this absorption ; since this short-lived individuality seems to be but too short a preparation for so mighty a union.

Once in talk with Tyndall the latter said, "Individual immortality ! We may all be absorbed in the Godhead" ; and Tennyson replied, "Suppose that He is the real person, and we are only relatively personal !" Take this striking prose confession illustrating an experience described in Canto XCV. of the poem :

A kind of waking trance I have frequently had, quite up from my boyhood, when I have been all alone. This has generally come upon me through repeating my own name two or three times to myself silently, till all at once, as it were out of the intensity of the consciousness of individuality, the individuality itself seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being ; and this not a confused state but the clearest of the clearest, the surest of the surest, the weirdest of the weirdest, utterly beyond words, where death was an almost laughable impossibility, the loss of personality (if so it were) seeming no extinction but the only true life.¹

And so, answering to all this, while at the very end the certainty of separation has become fixed, Arthur Hallam is nearer to his friend now than ever ; for he has become a light, a life, a faith, a hope, a spiritual presence to be felt everywhere and for aye—"known and unknown," "darklier understood," "mingled with all the world," with the rolling air, the running water, the rising and the setting sun, a

¹ *Memoirs*, I. 320.

diffusive power even more than a concentrated personality, and yet loved not less, or less passionately, than before, but rather immeasurably more.

To sum up : If anyone comes to *In Memoriam*, or indeed to Tennyson anywhere, for a chart of the kingdom of heaven, he had better have stayed away. Trigonometrical surveys of the Celestial City are not in his line. For him, and for all of us, it might have meant much to have heard from Lazarus where he was those four days while his body lay dead within the cave, but this traveller returned had no tale to tell. If he said anything at all about it, a divine reticence, answering to all the methods of God in this matter that we know, "sealed the lips" of those who heard him. Nor did even Jesus—who has coined into an everyday currency the golden ore of hope and hint embedded in the human heart—not even He has told us much of the inner meaning of the superscription which this money bears. Tennyson well raises the point whether such questions are profitable. Are they worth asking? Does the believing soul really care about asking them? Mary did not. "Silent prayer" dwells in her eyes, and deep gladness and love, but no vulgar curiosity. As Emerson has it in "Worship": "Of immortality the soul when well employed is incurious. It is so well that it is sure it will be well. It asks no questions of the Supreme Power."

We come back, then, after a wide circuit, to the point at which we began. This poem which, to the casual and careless reader seemed, and naturally too, but personal and patchy, a vehicle of private praise carried to the very verge of surfeit, and above all a series of songs meant, with much art, to make "parade of pain," turns out when read with insight and sympathy to be a great, free, impersonal argument, informed by the highest imagination, for the immortal hopes of the race. It is not all of equal merit by any means; but in the mass it is nothing but admirable, the noblest poem perhaps in the language devoted to the problem of man's future, a poem full of the stress of the time, but breathing for it and for us, and even for far-

distant days yet to come, a message of trust and comfort and peace ; in fine, a work in which almost the last possible word has been said on the theme it treats. F. W. Robertson's verdict on its first publication was in these words : "To my mind the most satisfactory things that have ever been said on the future life are contained in this poem." We take leave to endorse that verdict for the opening of the twentieth century, and to add that, to our thinking, whatever new consolations are in store for humanity on this side the grave respecting the life beyond, they will be but confirmation or corollary of what Tennyson has given us here.

JOHN DAY THOMPSON.

THE NEW POPE AND THE OLD PAPACY.

"**T**HE old order changeth." The long-reigned Leo has been gathered to his predecessors ; and Pius X. reigns in his stead. Never before in the long history of the Papacy has the passing of one pope and the coming of another so stirred the sympathetic interest of the civilised world. A full quarter of a century had elapsed since such a double event, with all its unique incidents, had had its place in history. The venerable and powerful personality of Leo XIII. remained the one great representative figure of those whose names and deeds are eternally bound up in the world's record of the bygone fifty years. Leo, with his more than fourscore years and ten, had lived through the resurrection and the ruin of Imperial France. He had witnessed the now lusty German Empire in its birth-throes ; and largely owing to his own encouragement and support he had seen the Catholic Centre party there wax into a mighty political force, and obtain imperial recognition as the indispensable ally of authority in its warfare with advanced Socialism and anarchy. Whilst, too, he laboured with no small measure of success to obliterate the traces of mischief and misfortune occasioned throughout Europe by Pio Nono's indiscretions and incompetence, he beheld under his very gaze a United Italy arise and consolidate itself into a first-class power from out the crumbled ruins of misgoverned principalities, chief among which were those very Pontifical States which his predecessors had treasured as the apple of their eye.

It is not our present intention, however, to dwell upon Leo XIII. An excellent appreciation of the deceased pontiff has already appeared in the pages of this REVIEW

in July, 1899, from the pen of the Rev. Henry J. Piggott, B.A., whose long residence in Rome, and intimacy with the founders and builders of the monarchy, has enabled him to gain rare insight into the relations of Italy and the Papacy. The modifications which the writer would doubtless be led to introduce into his article were he re-writing it in the light of the four past years would probably leave us little room to differ from him. However, the theme of inquiry which now engages interest in the non-Roman Catholic world centres, if we mistake not, in the person of the new Pope, and in the possibilities and prospects of the old Papacy. What developments, if any, are likely to take place in the faith or theology of the Roman Church? What changes in its discipline and government? And, will the social and political programme by which Leo XIII. wrought a revolution in the methods of the Papacy be perpetuated by the new Pius, or be allowed to languish and lapse?

To obtain some certain data to go upon, it will be well to relate briefly how Cardinal Sarto's election to the Papacy came about. Long before the Conclave became a reality, two great opposing factions in the Roman Curia were busy marshalling their forces for the fray. On the one hand was the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, already counting numerous supporters, yet never losing an opportunity of filling up vacancies in the Sacred College with subjects on whose loyalty and gratitude at the critical moment it seemed that he could best rely. The great bulk of these were Italians and Southerners who had been among his companions and schoolfellows, men whose signal and often sole merit lay in their noble extraction or clerical intransigence. For years past, indeed, the newly created cardinals have been, almost without exception, men of marked intellectual inferiority. Hence it is that in the Sacred College, and especially among the resident members in the Roman Curia, the genius and gianthood of the mentally as well as morally gifted Sicilian cardinal have become increasingly imposing amidst a tribe of ecclesiastical Liliputians.

On the other hand, the dissentient Roman cardinals, grown in numbers as the fateful Conclave neared, were determined to crush Cardinal Rampolla's chances. In this resolve, and in this only, were they strong and united. Petty jealousies and political divergencies prevented their rallying around a common candidate. Most favoured Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Propaganda, or Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli. The remnant was divided between Agliardi, Oreglia, Di Pietro, and others. The Curial cardinals, Rampollaists and anti-Rampollaists, evidently reckoned upon the new pope being selected from their own immediate coterie. In this, as the event proved, they were doomed to disappointment.

Leo XIII. died. The non-resident cardinals flocked to Rome. Some of them had been afforded an earlier occasion for gauging the state of affairs when they came to Rome for the Silver Pontifical Jubilee in the previous March. The latter years of the aged pontiff's rule witnessed a rapid reversal of the successes that had illustrated an earlier period. Many cardinals desired a change: many lamented the prominence given to the political over the spiritual aspect of Catholicism, and felt it would be meet and right on their part when the time came to choose a successor who before all things else should exalt the religious office of the Papacy rather than bend his efforts to consolidate it into a political empire. At the outset, Cardinal Gotti appeared to these cardinals to have the endowments and tendencies requisite to this end; and his candidature had the advantage of possessing supporters, as has been said, among the Curial malcontents. Entered into Conclave, the two opposing groups began to wage tough battle for the mastery. Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli had lost credit from the beginning. Incredible energy had been exerted towards securing his election to the Papal Chair. His own brother, Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli, had voluntarily sunk his individual chances the better to promote Serafino's claims. But the canvassing, if tireless, seems also to have been too open and tactless: it bred disgust and courted failure. In the first scrutiny the inevitable Cardinal Rampolla headed

the ballot list with twenty-four votes. His supposed religious-minded rival, the Carmelite friar, Cardinal Gotti, came next with seventeen; while those recorded for Cardinal Vannutelli, who had just before honourably refused to pledge himself to his would-be electors by any conditions whatsoever, did not exceed half a dozen votes. In the second scrutiny of Saturday evening Cardinal Gotti sustained a slight loss, whereas Cardinal Rampolla scored five extra suffrages. Cardinal Vannutelli was reduced to a single vote. Such was the relative position of the leading trinity who had entered the Conclave popes and who left it cardinals. Sunday became the eventful turning-point in the fortunes of the *papabili*: Teutonic opposition to Cardinal Gotti began to make itself felt; for Gotti was *persona ingrata* to Germany. Those who had accorded him their votes with a view to ousting Rampolla came to suspect that they were unwittingly furthering the success of one who would turn out in sooth a second incarnation of the great ex-secretary. Then the story of a sad scandal, in which a brother of his was said to be implicated, brought conviction that Cardinal Gotti's candidature would be best dropped. In the Sunday morning scrutiny one half of his supporters withdrew their allegiance. At eventide a bare trio stood steadfast to him.

That memorable Sunday settled also Cardinal Rampolla's fate. The votes in his favour were, it is true, higher than ever both morning and evening. The French cardinals, with one notable exception,—Cardinal Labouré, of Rennes,—were indefatigable in their endeavours to raise him to the Papacy, and had invited him to a serious conclave of their own at the French College just before the final struggle. The Spanish cardinals were with him to a man: the Portuguese Cardinal Netto joined their band. An enthusiastic group of Italians, chiefly Curialists, completed the phalanx. Against them *en bloc* were arrayed the German and Austro-Hungarian delegates—the latter with a trump card up their sleeve, ready for production *in tempore opportuno*. The two Saturday ballots had revealed the weighty and waxing

influence of the late Papal Prime Minister upon the Conclave. Cardinal Gruska, Archbishop of Vienna, the senior Austrian cardinal, had declined beforehand to deliver Austria's intimation. He limited himself to expressing hope at the outset of the proceedings in Conclave that the choice of the Sacred College might fall upon one of their number unsuspected of political partisanship. The German Cardinal Kopp echoed this wish. When, however, the scrutinies began, it was clear these exhortations had been uttered in vain. Then Cardinal Puzyna, Prince Bishop and Metropolitan of Cracow, who had undertaken the thankless task, having tried unavailingly to impress the fact of Austria's protest in indirect fashion, now boldly announced to the cardinals assembled in full Conclave that Austria vetoed Cardinal Rampolla's accession to the Papacy. Attempts have been made in various quarters to deny that Austria exercised the veto. The English Roman Catholic *Tablet*, a singularly badly informed newspaper in these matters, assumed this attitude as late as August 22, *i.e.* three weeks after the Conclave had terminated. Our knowledge of the actual exercise of the veto rests upon the direct testimony of cardinals themselves, including that of His Eminence Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna. Even the Vatican *Voce della Verità* and the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* have deplored the fact. Three years ago we were made aware from a diplomatic source in Rome that Austria would exclude Cardinal Rampolla, should ever the need arise, on account of his active literary crusade against this ally of the Triple Alliance. In an interview at Turin granted to the Marchese Filippo Crispolti (formerly editor of the Vatican *Osservatore Romano*), which was published in the Catholic *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, Cardinal Gibbons, referring to this incident, said :

The announcement came as a thunderclap. We were all persuaded that Austria would take indirect steps to hinder Cardinal Rampolla's election, but no one expected a formal publication of the veto. When Cardinal Puzyna, of Cracow, was seen to rise and declare that he spoke in the name of his Emperor, the

Sacred College remained stupefied with amazement. Immediately there arose lively and solemn protests.

It has been said that Cardinal Puzyna exceeded his instructions. This is unlikely, and Cardinal Gibbons himself expressed scepticism on the point. Certain it is that the aged Emperor gave audience to the Cardinal of Cracow in Vienna on his way home, and congratulated him on his conduct. Certain it is that Puzyna's action delighted a big minority, whilst it displeased and angered the majority. Cardinal Mathieu protested loudly; Cardinal Vives y Tuto, the Spanish Curialist, proposed that the Sacred College should proclaim Rampolla pope by way of acclamation. But Cardinal Rampolla himself was wiser. He saw plainly enough that, protest against Austria and its Emperor as they might, the cardinals could never proceed to raise to the "Throne of Peter" anyone whom a Great Power looked upon openly in the light of an enemy. Paler than usual, yet with the majestic dignity and impenetrable calm which never forsake him, Cardinal Rampolla rose in the assembly and spoke these two following sentences of sonorous Latin :

Vehementer doleo de gravi vulnere libertati ac dignitati Ecclesiae, a laica potestate illato. Quantum ad me, nihil gratius, nihil jucundius accidere poterat.

This noble response recalls the more pathetic incident of 1831, when Spain interposed to prevent Cardinal Giustiniani's nomination. In his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, Cardinal Wiseman relates how Giustiniani—tall in stature, his scanty hair white with age—rose up, advanced to the middle of the Quirinal Chapel, and, with unfaltering voice and in wonted tone, addressed his colleagues thus :

If I did not know Courts by experience, I should certainly have cause to be surprised at the "exclusion" published by the Most Eminent Dean; since far from being able to reproach myself with having given cause of complaint against me to

His Catholic Majesty during my nunciature, I dare congratulate myself with having rendered His Majesty signal services in the difficult circumstances wherein he was placed. . . . I will further add that of all the benefits conferred on me by His Majesty, I consider the greatest and most acceptable to me, at least in its effects, to be his having this day closed for me the access to the most sublime dignity of the pontificate. Knowing, as I do, my great weakness, I could not bring myself to foresee that I should ever have to take upon myself so heavy a burden ; yet these few days back, on seeing that I was thought of for this purpose, my mind has been filled with the bitterest sorrow. To-day I find myself free from my anxiety, I am restored to tranquillity, and I retain only the gratification of knowing that some of my most worthy colleagues have deigned to cast a look on me, and have honoured me with their votes, for which I beg to offer them my eternal and sincerest gratitude.¹

If less pathetic, Cardinal Rampolla's answer was also less garrulous, as stinging in its rebuke, and still more impressive. If it drew no tears, it drew more votes. But it was a last desperate struggle for the triple crown, the final shimmering of a falling star. So closed

*Dies illa, dies irae,
Calamitatis et miseriae,
Dies magna et amara valde.*

In the utter rout of the Rampolla party the whole situation was changed ; and in the person of Cardinal Sarto, a man of very different calibre was, altogether against his personal inclination, being borne rapidly onwards towards the Papal Chair.

Amidst the hopelessness of advancing their own favourite fallen ones, the cardinals in great majority were ready to rally to a neutral candidate. Most foreign cardinals and Italian non-residents in Rome had experienced no small dissatisfaction in their official dealings with the Curia : many desired reforms in its cumbersome machinery, in harmony with the newer aspirations of the Church and the vast needs of souls. But for Cardinal Svampa's affliction

¹ Pages 265, 266.

with facial paralysis, there seems little doubt his gifted mind, added to his pastoral activity, would have resulted in his election. Ten years ago the now octogenarian Cardinal Capececiattro, of Capua, would have commanded much attention. As it was, Cardinal Sarto, of Venice, proved the general choice. First five votes, then ten, next a rise to twenty-one, and afterwards to twenty-four, the Patriarch of Venice ranked next to Rampolla at both the Sunday scrutinies. What a contrast in personality! Rampolla del Tindaro—of noble lineage, a man of wealth, a sharp intellect, an unbending will, with no experience in the sacred ministry, a consummate diplomat, mighty with governments: plain Joseph Sarto—of peasant stock, of scanty means, with no known scholarly attainments, shy and timorous, an expert pastor of souls, undabbled in diplomacy, a stranger to foreign powers. On Monday morning he is three votes ahead of Rampolla. He details his defects with tearful eloquence and undoubted sincerity. The Conclave listens—and votes the more. Thirty-five times over on Monday evening the tellers repeat the name of Sarto. Rampolla has been deserted by half his partisans, but ten will stand by him till the last. Tuesday morning dawns. It is the Festival of Dominic, founder of the Friars-Preachers. Fifty votes out of a possible sixty-two have been cast for Sarto. The great glazen door of St. Peter's façade swings back on its hinges: the Cardinal Deacon steps out on the balcony, and to a vast chorus of applauding spectators announces the advent of Pius X.

Most momentous of all the burning problems which the new Pope must face, or shrink from facing, is undoubtedly that of the relations between the Old Papacy and Young Italy. When the present writer first came to reside in Rome, four years ago, he shared the common belief, voiced by politicians of the first water, like Bismarck, that "there is no Roman Question." A careful study of the facts on the spot has convinced him that such a view is untenable. During the last few months, when papal matters have engrossed the attention of the Italian press, the best Liberal

organs have avowed, and even urged, that there is a question of this nature awaiting solution ; that the present situation is as disastrous (if, indeed, not more so) to the interests of the commonwealth as to those of the Church ; and at the same time, that the solution demanded by the Intransigents, which would involve the restoration of the old Papal States to the sway of the Popes, is one which cannot for a moment be entertained. Again, the Eternal City must remain what for now over thirty years it has been *de facto*—" *Roma intangibile*," the capital of United Italy. The older scheme for conciliation between Church and State, once advocated by certain Liberal deputies, hardly gains a hearing now. It would mean a revival of the age of Concordats—anything more undesirable than which can scarcely be conceived. Besides, it is an open secret that whilst both Vatican and Quirinal would welcome an understanding in the form of a complete *modus vivendi*, neither the Quirinal nor the Vatican itself desires a formal conciliation. For not only would conciliation of this sort cause a loss of prestige to either power, but, further, it would clash fatally with their respective programmes and ideals.

"Conciliation, for which so many good, peace-loving people yearn," wrote an able politician recently in *La Stampa* of Turin, "would in less than twenty-four hours be transformed into an alliance ; and this alliance, being offensive to many, would in a brief space develop interminable conflicts which would enter into every manifestation of political and social life. Conciliation, which some think synonymous with peace, would become war, and, fanned by passions, would become a mighty warfare, overwhelming in its fury every other aspiration in Italian life."

The basis of a completer *modus vivendi*, to which we have alluded, is already laid in the established separation of the Church from the State, and in the provisional Law of Guarantees. What remains to be accomplished is the fuller realisation of a Free Church in a Free State. It would seem that this can best be achieved by modifying or re-framing certain details of the law of 1871, and then by ratifying and securing its binding force in virtue of an

international treaty between the Great Powers. For the question here is not one of individual opinions respecting the Papacy, religious or otherwise, but the intelligent facing of actual patent facts. Whilst Roman Catholicism continues to be the international religion and political factor that it is, so long must governments, be they Protestant, Papist, or nondescript, reckon with the Papacy as a sovereign power. And this, in practice, they are compelled to do, either by permanent representation or by special delegations, as occasion arises. The abstract papal claim to a universal spiritual mission may be a divinely founded truth or a diabolical imposture. This is a topic of religious controversy which does not here concern us. The point is that the exercise of this claim is a concrete fact, and one in which two hundred and fifty millions of the human race practically acquiesce. In these circumstances it is not to be expected that the Pope can consent to receive the annual stipend allotted him by the Law of Guarantees, as it at present stands. Were the Pope thereby to consent to become the pensioner of Italy, and the first chaplain of its monarch, not the feelings of the Roman Catholic world merely, but the jealousies and suspicions of other Great Powers would unquestionably be aroused. All who were eye-witnesses of recent events in Rome can testify how magnanimously the Italian Government has kept its engagements towards the Roman Church. Yet anyone would leave a weighty consideration out of count who overlooked the fact that this Law of Guarantees depends for its very existence upon the will of Parliament only; and in the present shifty condition of parties and tendencies in Italy, and the rapid spread of lawlessness, who shall say that for peace and concord's sake the stability assured by an international agreement is not highly desirable and opportune?

Pius X.'s election to the Papacy has been greeted with nothing short of enthusiasm by political parties of all shades throughout Italy. And the explanation is because his antecedents give promise of his effectually preparing the way for this completer *modus vivendi*. The cardinals

who elected him know full well that Rome, "the City of the Usurper," is for the Conclave the freest place of assembly in the civilised world. He on whom their choice rested has twice paid homage in state to the assassinated and the reigning sovereigns in his patriarchal city of Venice. He has been spiritual confessor to Queen Margherita. One of the most touching letters called forth by the horrible tragedy at Monza was the circular letter which Cardinal Sarto sent to his clergy in memory of "our august King Humbert." Will the changed angle make all the difference? He is known to be personally favourable to the revocation of the *Non Expedit*—that intolerable veto by which the Vatican abuses its spiritual jurisdiction to crush the inborn rights of citizenship. This attempt to withhold Italian Catholics from participating in the national elections has for years proved, as it deserved to prove, very widely ineffectual. Many Italian priests and bishops record their vote—some of them openly. But of five hundred and eight Parliamentary deputies, over three hundred are Catholics; and at this very moment petitions for revoking an anomalous prohibition are flowing into the Vatican from north, and south, and centre. In principle, its abolition is called for. In practice, it is doubtful whether the compensation would be great. The papal attitude during thirty years past has alienated intelligent public sympathy, soured officialdom, and contributed to the decay of the religious and moral sense in Italy. With creed and patriotism apart, with the claims of faith in alleged incompatibility with the love of fatherland, what else could be expected? Fifty-six per cent. of Catholics now vote at the Italian municipal elections. How many more would appear at the national poll were the *Non Expedit* swept away remains to be seen. Only a few days ago, in so clerical a centre as Florence, the Catholic population participated in the parliamentary contest in support of Prince Corsini's candidature. The election, however, was lost by one hundred and seventy votes.

In his dealings with this moot case the new Pope, it must

not be forgotten, is hampered by the deliberations and ideas of his councillors. Before Cardinal Sarto had arrived in Rome for the Conclave, there appears to have been an almost unanimous resolve that the political and moral testament of Leo XIII., recommending adhesion to his temporalist conservatism, should be respected. A majority of cardinals present had also declared against the new pontiff's benediction being given from the outer central balcony of St. Peter's. The new Pope complied with this sentiment. Though not strictly bound by any previous decrees of his subjects, it was too much to expect him to set aside in his very first public act the decision arrived at by a considerable section of his electors. He, nevertheless, insisted on the coronation ceremony taking place publicly in St. Peter's instead of in the semi-privacy of the Sistine, where the late Pope Leo was crowned. He blessed the Italian troops who had been sent to preserve order, and severely discountenanced the political demonstrations within St. Peter's which so delighted his predecessor, acclaimed with irreverent and boisterous cries of *Viva, il Papa Rè!* Even as these lines are being penned he has postponed the coming of the great French pilgrimage under M. Harmel, which was to have been in Rome on September 20. The object of this adjournment is to avoid any conflict with Italian feeling during the annual commemoration in connexion with the breach of Porta Pia and the occupation of Rome as the capital of United Italy. There seems, therefore, good ground for hope that under the present peace-loving pontiff the old-time bitterness and belligerence may be sensibly diminished.

The Pope's home policy has been spoken of here as "most momentous," because of its vital reaction upon his relations with foreign powers. Heads of Catholic States seem about to break through their rule of abstention from visiting the Quirinal. Now that he is no longer bound by his personal promise to Leo XIII. never to set foot in Rome during that pontiff's lifetime, it is most likely that the claims of the Triple Alliance will bring the aged Emperor

Francis Joseph of Austria, or at least his successor, to the capital of Italy. Already overtures to this end are in progress. Before many months the President of the Republic that boasts the title of "Eldest Daughter of the Church" will probably be in Rome. Other Catholic monarchs will doubtless be eager to follow suit. Obstinate refusal to relax his rule would mean moral martyrdom to the Pope and fresh disaster for Catholicism. It might lead to the dispersion of the Diplomatic Corps, and the Papacy's last plight might be worse than its first. A conciliatory spirit would, on the contrary, do much to cement the Church's influence with other nations, while compromising in no way its own requisite spiritual independence.

As regards France, the new Pope's policy, be it what it may, will most probably avail not at all to stave off the denunciation of the Concordat and the break-up of the French Church. But may not this be awaited with resignation, as in reality a blessing, though garbed in strange guise?

Sprung from the people, Pope Pius' sympathies, it may be safely predicted, will be in the future what they have been always in the past—Christlike sympathies. His generous heart will go out to the poor and needy, to the suffering and oppressed. During his years at Venice he was continually mortifying his personal pleasures so as to be constantly giving in charity. When created cardinal he even bought the worn-out robes of his predecessor, and had a portion of his own episcopal attire dyed scarlet in order to be able to give a greater sum to feed and clothe his poorer children. He has shown no desire to exalt his relatives by removing from them the necessity for toil. "Now that I am Pope I have all God's poor in the world to think of," he told them recently. On his elevation he distributed large sums in charity to his former flock at Venice, and 4,000 pounds amongst the poor of Rome. A splendid object-lesson in the new era of democracy to see a peasant seated in the "See of Peter the Fisherman"! In his programme of social politics Pius X. cannot hope to emulate Leo XIII. Never-

theless, he promises to draw inspiration from Pope Leo's best efforts. Amongst Catholics he will encourage all popular social action, except where undertaken independently of the bishops for political party ends. That section of the Christian democratic movement dominated by alien ideas has nothing to hope from him save frank disapproval.

The sphere in which Pius X. bids fair to make his power and initiative most felt is that of internal government and discipline. The ideas which dominate him are the ideas of one who is first of all a shepherd of souls. "I am not only Pope, I am also Bishop of Rome," said he the other day; and as such it is his intention that, on days to be set apart, all the diocesan clergy, from the parish priests to the humblest curates, shall have free access to him. Liturgical reforms may be confidently expected, especially in the matter of Church music. The operatic ditties which tickle the ears of the worldly devout, chiefly in the churches of the Jesuits, may have to cease before a papal mandate, though the existing decrees of Roman Congregations are lightly brushed aside and scandalously violated even in the Bishop of Rome's own diocese. The new Pope is a fervent lover of ecclesiastical plain-song, and will encourage if not prescribe its use. Under his rule the grand liturgical services, which constituted so great an attraction in Rome prior to 1870, will for a certainty be revived in St. Peter's and the Sistine Chapel. And as the spirit of the grand old liturgies serves as a corrective to novel devotions, many of the absurd pietistic "fads" which at present prevail may tend to die out and disappear. Salutary reforms in the papal entourage may likewise be hoped for, which will help to make the Roman Curia less a nest of worldly-minded priests and prelates to whom Catholicism presents itself as a comfortable means of livelihood, or as so much material for political jobbery. He may resume Leo XII.'s plan, who intimated in full Consistory that in creating future cardinals he would not be guided by routine or court usages, but would select men of great gifts who had ren-

dered signal services to the Church. At present the cardinalate is a prize for moneyed men of noble family, a traditional perquisite for occupants of certain sees, and a lumber-room for blundering or otherwise discarded diplomats.

Perhaps the most extraordinary act of Cardinal Sarto as Patriarch of Venice was his prohibition of bicycles to the clergy. The circular letter in which he conveyed this intimation to his priests strikes us as well worth quoting, since it furnishes very suggestive material for a psychological study of Pius X. Having dwelt upon the virtues which ought to adorn the priest's inner life, and the harmony therewith which should flow forth in his outward deportment, Cardinal Sarto thus concludes :

Finally, seeing that in these days there has been introduced amongst the laity the use of wheeled machines, called velocipedes or bicycles, and that these have become popular to such an extent that it seems impossible to live without them ; seeing also that this novelty threatens to be adopted by some among the clergy, I ordain for the maintenance of priestly gravity and decorum that the ecclesiastics of this diocese abstain altogether from their use.

On the eve of their departure for their holidays, the clerics in my seminary have heard my thoughts on this subject, and I request the very reverend parish priests to warn me should any cleric during these autumn vacations contravene my absolute orders.

That which I have forbidden to clerical students I feel in duty bound to forbid also with greater reason to my priests, because in my judgment there is nothing so much opposed to priestly decorum than to see him straddlelegs on this machine, which is inconsistent with the sobriety that must gain respect for his ministry.

Everything, in fact, which tends to the habits of seculars lays the priest open to the charge of vanity and levity in the face of the world, which is very skilful in recognising the more respectable priests even by their outward behaviour. If the Church, whenever she has seen laymen imitating the priestly garb, has imposed salutary laws to protect a custom consecrated by use, shall it ever be lawful for priests to follow the habits of

seculars, and so prove wanting to the dignity and decorum of their calling?

I am well aware that among the clergy themselves there are eloquent patrons of velocipedes and bicycles who declare them most opportune for the clergy; but, whilst I respect the opinion of all, I find it necessary to prohibit their use to all the priests in my diocese. Some will say that these are trifles with which it is silly to concern oneself. But it is not their office to decide what is best for the Church. This judgment belongs to the bishops who govern her under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

If any shall perhaps say "*Roma locuta est*," and hence "*lis finita est*," I, at any rate, have not heard this voice; and until the Holy Father, either directly or through his Congregations, shall have established the contrary, I hold firm to my prohibition.

Others, in fine, have urged the advantages in time-saving, of readiness in visiting the sick, of a saving of expense to the poor clergy. All these are good reasons; but they must give way before the gravity and decorum which ought to be the priest's master and model.

We make no comment upon this document beyond mentioning that canon law in Italy obliges the clergy to wear the priestly cassock whenever they appear in public; also that it appears the attractions and facilities afforded by the bicycle became the occasion for neglect of parochial duties.

Lastly, a question uppermost in the mind of educated folk outside the Roman Church is, What will be the attitude of Pius X. towards the Forward Movement which has gained so great a strength in contemporary Catholicism? To those, too, who have spent themselves in the struggle for greater liberty of thought and action in matters outside the rightful domain of their Church's jurisdiction, this cannot fail to be a subject of paramount importance. Hardly a great name was lost to the Roman communion during the nineteenth century whose defection is not traceable to ignorant or injudicious treatment at the instance of ecclesiastical authority. For this state of things the low level and narrow scope of the clerical seminary curriculum is principally responsible. Suffering as he does from the

defects inherent in this system, untravelled beyond the limits of his former dioceses, and unacquainted with the results of progressive science and criticism, Pope Pius X. has no problem pressing upon him so thorny, perilous, and pregnant with consequences as the intellectual one. Salvation lies in his confiding in the Commissions of critical experts whom Leo XIII. in his declining days summoned to his aid.

Take, for instance, the Biblical question. Pius X. loves deeply the Holy Scriptures. He obliged his Venice priests to read the Gospel and the Epistle in the vernacular to the people Sunday by Sunday, and to make it the theme of their sermons. He himself set the example in the pulpit of St. Mark's. He distributed thousands of free copies of the New Testament, expressing his wish that it should be known, possessed, and reverently read in every household of his diocese. One of his first acts as Pope has been to grant special privileges and encouragement to the recently founded Vatican "Society of St. Jerome for the Spread of the Gospels." Such admirable evidences of piety and devotion on the Pope's part, considered together with his lack of elementary knowledge in Biblical criticism, renders it far more likely that he will incline to severity in his relations with the newer thought, unless he rely for guidance upon expert advisers.

The time-spirit affects Catholicism as everything else, and affects it more profoundly ; for the Papacy is necessarily the antithesis of liberalism as such. Its very *raison d'être*, according to its own account of itself, consists in its being the divinely appointed trustee for the conservation of what is believed to be a deposit of faith and morals bequeathed by Christ to all ages and to all sorts and conditions of men. Depend upon it, under no pontiff, however liberal, under no pontificate, however progressive, will the Roman Catholic Church ever barter away what she deems her birthright. That species of so-called "Liberal Catholicism," chiefly confined to nominal and non-preaching Catholics in the Latin countries of Europe, which aims at a reformation of

Catholic dogma, and would even leave the divine Personality an open question, is an impossible absurdity. There is not, and cannot be, a place in the Roman Catholic polity for him who cherishes these dreams, or applies himself to realise them.

Apart from this distorted individualism, or illiberalism born of indifference, yet oftentimes misunderstood and confounded with its pseudo-sister by Churchmen themselves, there exists, and has always existed in the Roman Catholic body, a legitimate, loyal, but liberal trend of thought and activity, which is not only not at variance with any vital principle of Catholicism, but is on the contrary essential to its functions as a living healthy organism, maintained by reciprocal waste and repair, rejection and assimilation. It realises, in the language of Newman, that if "in a higher world it is otherwise," yet "here below to live is to change; and to be perfect is to have changed often"; that this is a universal law that knows of no exception in time-and-space spheres, where even ideas change "in order to remain the same." Hence it welcomes every new truth, or aid to truth, which comes to it in the shape of sound science and sane criticism. It holds that *all* truth, not some truths, is Catholic and orthodox. It recognises that there is a human as well as a diviner element in the Church's constitution, and that this human element stands ever in need of correction and reform. It is keenly alive to the fact that, in the course of ages, legends and myths innumerable have clustered around the Catholic creed; that current notions respecting eternal truths and these truths themselves are things several, though with us inseparable; that human theories of theology not seldom pass muster as divine teachings of faith; and that even the dogmas of the Church become capable of newer, fuller, and fitter expression with the roll of years and the growth of truth.

The genius of the Old Papacy will be seen in its protecting the Forward Movement for its interests: the wisdom of the New Pontiff in blessing its dutiful efforts for the common weal of the Church and the age.

AUSTIN WEST.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Religious Sense in Its Scientific Aspect. By Greville Macdonald, M.D. (London : Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d.)

THIS volume contains three lectures given last summer before students at King's College, London. They illustrate the religion of service and renunciation from the phenomena of low forms of life, and represent the religion of freedom as the final and highest product of the influence in man of the religious sense, and as legitimately expressing itself in Protestantism and individualism. The writer is an ardent evolutionist, and refuses to recognise "any process of creation except that of growth." He does not commit himself to any theological dogmas ; but he insists that an integral part of human nature is a religious sense, or the consciousness of "ethical obligations towards an idea beyond the needs of individual or society," and this sense with its implicates is made the subject of analysis. There is not much that is original in the book, and its force as an argument is reduced by the looseness of its lecturing style and by the frequency of phrases that are either metaphorical or unproved. Poetry may warrant the attribution of a soul to a sponge and of the sense of obligation to a daisy ; but such exuberance is confusing to a reader who is invited, on the title-page, to look at something in its scientific aspect. At the same time, this quality of fancy contributes often to the increase of interest, and in such sections as those which deal with the difficulties of the existence of suffering and evil the writer becomes irresistible. His book is well calculated to relieve the doubts of cultured and earnest minds, and to lead in assured paths to the satisfactions of theism, and to the obedience, if not to the full hope, of the Gospel.

R. W. M.

L.Q.R., OCTOBER, 1903.

Beyond Death. By Hugh Johnston, D.D. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 5s.)

Dr. Johnston describes his book as theological and expository, but not a critical or formal treatise, and as designed to strengthen the faith of Christian men. The description is correct, and the design has been kept continuously in view. Any serious reader will be pleased with the gentleness of the writer's tone and stimulated by his obvious sincerity. He discusses in a dozen chapters the teaching of the Bible on the various subjects conveniently classed as eschatological. With the so-called premillennial views he has no sympathy ; he argues strongly for a spiritual interpretation of the great passage in the Apocalypse, and for a visible and personal advent of Christ only at the end of the present order of things for the purposes of judgment and for the final consummation of His kingdom. The intermediate state he considers to be one of education and development, but for an extension of probation into it he can find no evidence in Scripture. It will be seen that the book represents the traditional views on these as on more personal matters relating to the destiny of individuals. The setting of these views is homiletical rather than logical, though effective reasoning is by no means absent. Hence the scientific student is not so likely to be guided in his search for truth as the lay reader to be strengthened and stimulated in his recognition of the soundness of beliefs in which he has been trained, by their bearing upon hope and present duty. The former will look in vain for the careful linguistic investigations which are indispensable in a technical treatment of the subject, for adequate attempts to trace changes of thought and their development in successive periods, and, except in the discussion of immortality, for any exhibition of the connexions of Biblical teaching with the thoughts of Gentile and non-Christian men. There is no index of texts or subjects ; sometimes a passage of Scripture is cited without indication of the exact place whence it is drawn. Yet the conclusions of the book are generally sound, and if its rhetorical exuberance occasionally conceals or interrupts the argument, compensating advantages may perhaps be found in the variety of literary interest and the directness of the author's aim to edify. It is a book that fairly represents revealed truth on subjects almost as perplexing as they are momentous, and it is admirably adapted to lead the general reader to right conclusions, both intellectual and practical.

R. W. M.

Ritschlianism: Expository and Critical Essays. By James Orr, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.)

Dr. Orr was one of the first in this country to write of the new theological movement starting from Ritschl, and the present volume contains some of his first papers on the subject. He has since written in more detail in two other works, and other writers have entered the same field. The best proof of the care and intelligence of these essays is that they still retain their value and freshness. Dr. Orr has occasion to defend himself from more recent critics, and he does so with perfect success. The Ritschlian movement quickly developed into a right and left wing, and these have grown apace. The two wings have already diverged far. Harnack's great influence is thrown, unfortunately, on the negative side. Some members of the school it would be hard to classify, but in the case of the majority there is no difficulty. We have great hope that the centripetal force will prove the stronger. The chapter on "The School of Ritschl" amply illustrates the divergent tendencies at work. Other two valuable chapters are those on Harnack and Dr. McGiffert. The criticism is severe, but just and necessary. Dr. Garvie's volume is an excellent contribution to the subject. He thinks that English writers have been unjustifiably hostile; but, as Dr. Orr points out, his own criticisms of the Ritschlian teaching are quite as serious; the only difference is that he emphasises favourable points somewhat more strongly. English readers now have sufficient materials for forming a judgment on a remarkable movement of thought.

J. S. B.

From Letter to Spirit: An Attempt to reach through Varying Voices the Abiding Word. By Edwin A. Abbott. (London: A. & C. Black. 20s. net.)

Like Dr. Abbott's other works, the present volume is remarkable for its learning, industry, and eccentricity. Starting with an inquiry into the Voices from heaven to Christ in the Gospels, the author digresses into discussions of the most minute questions suggested as the inquiry proceeds. Thus the Voice at the Baptism gives rise to five chapters, in which all the circumstances of the Baptism are reviewed. The other Voices in the Gospels, as well as similar phenomena in Jewish tradition,

are submitted to like microscopic examination. The final outcome is that "there was no objective Voice from heaven at any time in Christ's life," but only answers to prayer. As in "The Husk and the Kernel," everything is spiritualised, or rather evaporated. One of the most effective instruments by which the author reaches his results is the supposition of confusion, blundering, and misinterpretation on the part of the evangelists. "The Hebrew words that express *dove* and *resting* are almost identical. The facts point to the conclusion that there was *no dove* in the original, but only a mention of the Spirit as *resting* on Jesus." The phrase "taking up the cross" is explained away as a confusion between the Jewish yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven and the Roman "crucificial" yoke. And so on, without limit. The application of the same methods to all other histories, for which there is equal warrant, would resolve everything into cloud and mist. Dr. Abbott's preference for the Fourth Gospel and its "unknown author" is explained by the fact that it lends itself better to abstract conceptions. The Gospel is described as a "sublime production" and "the noblest attempt at indirect biography where direct was impossible." Yet where the evangelist says that Jesus "said" so and so, he only means that Jesus "meant" this. In other words, the methods and contents of the Gospels are on a par with those of Jewish Talmudists, the two being expressly compared. We may apply to the present work Dr. Abbott's words about others, "There is a dearth of facts, but a plethora of hypotheses."

J. S. B.

Some Thoughts on the Incarnation. By. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (London: Longmans & Co. 1s. 6d.)

The Dean of Westminster has rendered great service to the cause of truth by these lucid and suggestive lectures. The Old Testament teaching about man is that he stands at the head of the creation, as being made in the image of God; so that human nature is a fit medium for the incarnation of the divine. The Gospel records teach us that the whole story of our Lord's life was full of miracle, and of miracle that was always appropriate to its purpose of declaring the new power which had entered into human life. It does not, therefore, appear to be inappropriate that this incarnate life should be marked at the outset by a signal miracle. The stories in St. Matthew and St. Luke

represent the Virgin birth from the side of Joseph and of Mary, and are exactly what we should expect in such circumstances. The whole argument is so candid and so reasonable that it cannot fail to help an honest inquirer after truth, and become a true aid to intelligent and whole-hearted faith in the Incarnation of our Lord.

The Hibbert Journal. A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Vol. 1., No. 3. July, 1903. (London : Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

In pursuance of his policy of "the open door," the editor of *The Hibbert Journal* invited Dr. William Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College, to reply to Dr. Oldfield's article on "The Failure of Christian Missions in India." Dr. Miller expresses sympathy with some of the views propounded by Dr. Oldfield, but differs from him on "basal principles." The fine courtesy which always recognises whatever is "partly right," renders all the more convincing the clear proof of "imperfect knowledge of the condition of India as a whole."

Dr. Cobb's article on "Belief in the Reformation" falls below the high level usually reached by contributors to this review. All who "appeal to authority, whether of the Bible, the Thirty-nine Articles, or Wesley's Sermons," are dubbed "Sacerdotalists" and "bastard Protestants." Dr. Cheyne pleads for a "much more thoroughly and methodically revised text of the Old Testament," and meanwhile advises "critical caution" in using the details of Assyriology and Egyptology. Professor Poynting's inquiry into "Physical Law and Life" should be read by all who are troubled by the recrudescence of materialism. "If our mental experience convinces us that we have freedom of choice, we are obliged to believe that in mind there is territory which the physicist can never annex." Dr. Peabody, of Harvard University, writes with stimulating freshness on the inexhaustible theme, "The Character of Jesus Christ." The editor announces an attractive list of forthcoming writers and articles.

J. G. T.

The Journal of Theological Studies. April and July, 1903. (London : Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. each net.)

The two outstanding articles in the April issue are a careful account of "Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries," by Dr. Swete, and a long illuminative review of Dr. Illingworth's

masterly work on "Reason and Revelation." These alone are enough to make a strong number. In addition there is the usual accompaniment of learned "Notes and Studies," reviews of theological literature, and synopsis of articles in theological periodicals. We are glad to see a review of so high a character holding on its way.

The July issue completes the fourth annual volume. It opens with a fine appreciation of the late Dr. Moberly, whose premature death is a serious loss to English theology. The promise of his life was great; the fulfilment would most probably have justified Dr. Sanday's high encomium. Professor Souter, of Aberdeen, contributes his instructive inaugural lecture in taking the new chair of palæography, emphasising the field of work that lies open in Biblical and patristic philology. His passing remarks on classical teaching are full of sense. "Our method has been all wrong. We have plunged young children into very difficult authors, who, apart from the difficulty of language, lived in different surroundings and thought in different ways from ourselves. The natural method is to begin with the easy and go on to the more difficult." There is a second long instalment on Greek monasteries in South Italy, dealing with their work in manuscript copying. Among the reviews there is an appreciative, though somewhat belated, notice of Deissmann's "Bible Studies," and a very qualified notice of Dr. Bright's "Age of the Fathers." B.

The American Journal of Theology. July, 1903. (Chicago University Press. London: Luzac & Co.)

This able review, now in its seventh year, is yet another evidence both of the general revival of interest in theological subjects and also of the thorough work being done in this field by American scholars. The present review is orderly, fresh, and thorough. The three leading articles are attractive in subject and treatment. Dr. Briggs discusses "Catholic—the Name and the Thing." One of the points raised is how the terms "Catholic" and "Roman" came to be practically synonymous. While allowing that the Roman Church is the heir of the Church of the second century, the writer says: "This does not by any means imply that all that is Roman, or has been Roman since the third century, may be included under the term 'Catholic.'" The numerous reviews of books are exceedingly full and informing. America is ahead of

England in theological enterprise. Cremer's reply to Harnack's "Essence of Christianity" has been translated there. B.

The New but True Life of the Carpenter, Including a New Sketch of Mahomet. By Amos. (Bristol: Wright & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

This book is a protest against Rationalism in Christian circles. The writer is whole-hearted in his allegiance to Christ, and his unconventional reading of the facts of our Lord's life will stir the minds of his readers. "One only religion, that of Jesus Christ, is the hope and salvation of the world." The critique of Mohammed is vigorous and just. The eccentricity of the book is its doctrine of angel ministry. "All the angels have gone through the entire cycle of human probation"; "in the exchanges of great capitals they are thick, much thicker than the darting telegraph-boys, bearing messages from the Throne of Righteousness, falling unheeded upon the flags, like the torn envelopes scattered underfoot." This is grotesque enough, and so is much besides in this remarkable book.

A Spiritual Consolation, and other Treatises. By the Blessed Martyr, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Edited by D. O'Connor.

The Four Last Things. By the Blessed Martyr, Sir Thomas More. Edited by D. O'Connor.
(London: Art & Book Co. 1s. each.)

Those who wish to know something about Roman Catholic devotion in the days of Henry VIII. should not overlook these little volumes. Two of Bishop Fisher's treatises were prepared when he was a prisoner in the Tower, for the use of his sister, a Dominican nun at Dartford, in Kent. They are somewhat strained in places, and are tinged with special Romish beliefs, but the short prayers at the end are very simple and beautiful. The Good Friday sermon on the Crucifix, which is described as a marvellous book, is very realistic, and at points pathetic and tender, though often forced and full of conceits. To present-day preachers it will be an interesting study. Sir Thomas More's little book is practically unknown. It has a spice of his wit, mixed with much practical sense and fine feeling, and not a few oddities. The English itself, with

its obsolete expressions, is well worth study. One is glad to see into the heart of a true saint of God, and to learn some lessons as to the way to conquer pride and anger.

The Use of Holy Scripture in the Public Worship of the Church. By the Rt. Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. (London : Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d.)

Bishop Hall has chosen a subject of the first importance for these lectures, and has treated it in a way that cannot fail to increase the interest felt in the services of the Church. His first chapter describes the use of Holy Scripture in the Jewish Church ; then the use of Scripture in the Eucharistic Service is traced, with the gradual development of the Daily Service, the use of the Psalter, and of the Old Testament. The discussions on the use of the Imprecatory Psalms and the choice of Old Testament lessons deserve special mention. Dr. Davison's article in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* is quoted with hearty approval. The lectures supply much information as to the history and literature of the whole subject, which ought to awaken a keen interest in a fascinating study. The Bishop thinks that preaching should sometimes come before the prayers, so that the people might be instructed and moved to pray. He points out the advantage which the prescribed Table of Lessons gives his own Church "over the unregulated reading of Scripture in the public services of Protestant bodies," and pleads for more frequent exposition of the Scriptures. The book is one of great value and sustained interest.

The First and Second Books of Esdras in the Temple Bible (Dent & Co., 1s. net) have been edited by Dr. Archibald Duff. His introduction is the brightest bit of writing in the set of volumes, and ought to attract readers who are generally afraid of such a subject. The notes are careful and scholarly. The frontispiece is Sir E. Burne-Jones's "Uriel." *Tobit and the Babylonian Apocryphal Writings* have been edited by Professor Sayce, and *Wisdom and the Jewish Apocryphal Writings*, by W. B. Stevenson, M.A., with much skill and care. Everything that an English reader needs to appreciate these ancient writings is here in the most accessible and attractive form.

New Testament Apocryphal Writings. Edited by James Orr, D.D. (London : J. M. Dent & Co. 1s. net.)

The absurdities of the Apocryphal Gospels help one to appreciate more justly the sober veracity of our Four Gospels.

In these fictions conjecture runs mad, and fills up the interstices of our Lord's life with the most unworthy and most incredible miracles. The study of this volume will send a reader back to his New Testament with increasing confidence and relish. The writings included in this supplement to *The Temple Bible* are The Protevangelium of James, The Gospels of Thomas, of Pseudo-Matthew, of Nicodemus, and of Peter, The Acts of Paul and Thecla, and The Falling Asleep of Mary. Professor Orr's introduction frames the documents in their historic setting, and shows how they have influenced Catholic tradition and sacred art. The little volume will be very welcome to many who have found these Apocryphal Gospels somewhat inaccessible. It will repay careful study.

We are glad to welcome a second edition of *Methods of Bible Study*, by W. H. Griffith Thomas, B.D. (Marshall Bros.). It is a book that will teach many to read the Bible to better purpose. Its one aim is to promote "the first hand study of the Scriptures," and it supplies hints and counsels which are admirably adapted to secure that result.

Mr. Frowde sends us the new edition of the Revised Bible with its precious revised marginal references. It is demy 8vo, printed in bourgeois type, and is published in cloth at 6s., and in leather bindings from 9s., or on India paper from 15s. It makes a very handsome volume, and the revised marginal references become more helpful and welcome to a Bible student the longer he uses them.

The Sermon on the Mount (Manchester : Robinson. 4s. 6d. net) is a practical exposition of St. Matthew vi. 16-vii. 27 by Mr. Greenhough, Mr. Selby, Dr. Rowland, and other eminent preachers. The volume will be of service to many a busy pastor. The sermons are full of good and helpful matter, and deal with subjects of abiding interest.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

The International Critical Commentary.—A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. By George Buchanan Gray, M.A., D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

A NEW English commentary on Numbers has long been needed. Thirty-five years have elapsed since Keil was translated, and in that period nothing of independent value has appeared beyond a few brief discussions of separate paragraphs or of their subjects. The second German edition of Keil was issued more than a generation ago, and, admirable as its contents are from many points of view, his standpoint was recognised, even at the time of publication, as conservative, whilst of late years scholarship has advanced in several directions by long and rapid strides. Dr. Gray's standpoint is certainly not conservative, though he has restraint enough not to commit himself to the conjectures of the more revolutionary critics. His scholarship, if laborious and inartistically patent, is ripe and adequate. And his commentary, with all its intellectual dryness and its defect in the qualities of imagination, deserves to rank amongst the best of the series to which it belongs, and supplies the trained student with the necessary materials for the exercise of his own judgment. It is a mine, sometimes a maze, of opinions and suggestions, and if at times the guide appears to have lost his way, and at times acknowledges that he holds no clue, the book may be regarded as gaining in interest almost more than it loses in certainty.

In an Introduction of thirty pages the usual matters of text, sources, and period are dealt with. The text is pronounced comparatively free from errors of transcription, and the alleged mutilation of some of the proper names is probably exaggerated. On the subject of Hebrew proper names Dr. Gray is one of the highest authorities, and he considers there is no manifest justification for the assumption of far-reaching mutilation and for the conjectural emendations proposed by Cheyne. To the literary analysis of the book a great deal of attention is given, with the

conclusion that no part is of Mosaic authorship. The principal sources are supposed to be a compilation made at the end of the seventh century, B.C., and a priestly history of sacred institutions written a century or two later. Elements of an earlier date are to be found among the poems and poetical fragments, and accretions, chiefly of a legal character, occurred for some time on suitable occasions. In the disentanglement of these great ingenuity is exhibited with unvarying powers of discrimination, but the result is not always convincing. Such details must of necessity be collected under the influence of certain logical and linguistic presuppositions; and inasmuch as these are not stated, and the reader is referred for them to commentaries that have not yet been published, the arrangement does not at present admit of close examination. Nor is confidence begotten when it is observed that one of the commentaries in question is announced as in preparation by an author who in facility of conjecture and disdain of evidence stands now well to the front of the most forward of his British colleagues. All such analysis must be taken as at the best merely provisional; and whilst redaction is certain and natural, the methodical gathering of verses and half verses into groups differing alike in authorship and in date is a task in part impossible and almost always barren of absolutely trustworthy conclusions.

The exegetical section of the commentary is marked by features of great value. Careful textual and grammatical notes are frequent. Many words of importance to the understanding of the verses or of the historical development are examined at length. The geographical identifications are traced without any refusal of labour in research, but with an occasional unwillingness to make any definite assertion. This practice of recording a variety of opinions and withholding any clear statement of the side to which the writer's judgment inclines is characteristic of the volume, and tends to unfit it for the use of younger or less advanced students. The exegetical sections are rich in parallels from folklore and ancient belief, and in this respect the commentary has no superior. But the consequences to religious faith do not seem to be perceived, or at least are not set forth with sufficient distinctness. The new scholarship would soon cease to be disparaged by the unskilled or dreaded by the timorous, if its disciples were more careful to show that no loss is involved either to the conception of God or in the formulation of the means by which He may be approached in

worship. That in His government of Israel He followed the principle of parsimony, and used beliefs and rituals already existent, purifying them and adapting them to His gracious purpose, makes His dealings with men no less wonderful, and man's devotion to Him more reasonable in its character and more irresistible in its appeals.

It is on this side of religious emotion and imagination that the commentary most conspicuously fails. Numbers is, after all, a sacred book, not merely to the generations amongst whom, in its various forms, it may first have appeared, but in the sense that it touches the highest duties and hopes of the men who are living now. To treat it as but a literary relic of an ancient and alien people is to miss its supreme significance. Whether or not its writers constructed it as an idealisation of the past, they wrote under the influence of the loftiest aspirations, and men read it to-day for the sake of the God whose presence in it they discover. Exegesis must of necessity halt and stumble if it start with the fundamental error of overlooking the exact character of that which it undertakes to explain. With this serious limitation, the book may be highly commended. It lacks the warmth and vision that must mark every genuine exegetical commentary on a section of Scripture. As a cool and non-religious investigation of an early bit of literature it is scholarly, full, and indispensable.

R. W. M.

The Bible in the Nineteenth Century. Eight Lectures. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (London: Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.)

The object of the present volume is to give a complete view of the process of change which has gone on in the popular estimate of Scripture. Whether it was worth while to go so far back as the writer does is doubtful. Much space is devoted to details respecting writers like Marsh, Evanson, Father Simon, Astruc, Lessing, Strauss, Baur, Colenso, who surely belong to ancient history. All this might have been dismissed much more briefly. As to the rest of the work, when the author's standpoint is remembered, there is nothing to complain of in the tone and spirit of the discussion. We expect miracles to be explained away, the supernatural to be minimised or banished, negatives to be substituted for positives; and the expectation is abundantly fulfilled. The critical views respecting the Old Testament, Prophecy, the Gospels, both the Synoptic and the Fourth

"spiritual" Gospel, are set out with great clearness and moderation of tone. One consequence of so much space being given to the contiguities of the subject is that the writer has nothing to say of the reaction of thought called forth by the flood of negative criticism. The backward movement to more conservative positions is unnoticed. Thus the survey is far from completeness.

J. S. B.

Are the Critics Right? Historical and Critical Considerations Against the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis. By Wilhelm Möller. Translated from the German by C. H. Irwin, M.A. (London: The Religious Tract Society. 2s. 6d.)

The subtitle of the English edition of this book is the main title of the German work of which it is a translation. The new title is no improvement, for the author is himself a critic of the school of von Orelli—who contributes an introduction—Baudissin, Köhler, and Robertson, whose *Early Religion of Israel* receives well merited praise. The dominant theory of the origin of the Pentateuch is vigorously attacked; difficulties which have prevented many from accepting the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis are stated with great ability; the discussion is conducted throughout with fairness and in an admirable spirit.

Möller's book may be recommended to all who have sufficient knowledge of critical terminology to enable them to follow its arguments; within the limits which the author sets himself he has done excellent service to the cause of truth. But he gives only "some hints" of the "new building" which must be erected before the value of his work can be finally judged. He recognises "sources" in the Pentateuch, "centres of crystallisation for laws which might be added later." He is also of opinion that the priestly code "nowhere claims to have been written by Moses."

J. G. T.

III. HISTORY.

History of the Babylonians and Assyrians. By G. S. Goodspeed, Ph.D. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co.)

THIS volume belongs to a "Historical Series for Bible Students," produced by American scholars of Yale, Chicago, and other universities, the purpose being not merely to present the history of Israel, as ascertained by modern critical scholarship, but also to outline the history and characteristics of those peoples whose influence upon Israel was most important—the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. And in a great many respects this volume is a worthy contribution to so excellent a plan. It is certainly thoroughly up to date, and presents the recent discoveries, afforded by columns and tablets, with great clearness. It will come as a surprise to many to be told that civilisation was so varied and extensive at such early periods ; and those who fixed B.C. 4004 as the date of the creation will be pained to hear that city-states flourished in South Babylonia a full thousand years prior to that date. But it is just in such fields as this that we must be prepared to abandon traditional ideas—and they can be abandoned without detriment to faith. It is a defect in this work that it does not more explicitly declare what was the influence of Babylonian and Assyrian thought upon that of Israel. Much detail of the purely "chronicle" order could well have been spared to make room for more in the way of estimates and reflections, which Dr. Goodspeed is evidently well qualified to give ; and, after all, this is a series for Bible students, and yet Israel hardly figures more than Egypt. It is not enough to be told, on the authority of Jastrow, that "Ezekiel was steeped in Babylonian theology and mysticism ; and the profound influence of Ezekiel is recognised by modern scholarship in the religious spirit that characterises the Jews upon the reorganisation of their commonwealth." Surely, it is just questions such as this which call for chapters to themselves, as being those about which Bible students care most, and rightly so. The book closes with very full chronological tables, and also a bibliography which should be useful to those who wish to go further with the subject ; but

the last page of the volume contains a list of Old Testament references—only forty in all—although ostensibly the book was written as an aid to Bible study. W. F. MOULTON.

History of Philosophy. By William Turner, S.T.D.
(London : Ginn & Co. 12s. 6d.)

The writer of this book has been for the last six years Professor of History and Philosophy in the St. Paul Seminary, Minnesota. He was educated at the University of Dublin, and spent some years in Rome and other places in Europe before he crossed over to his work in America. In 700 pages he gives a complete survey of the whole field of philosophy, from the Babylonians and Egyptians down to the end of the nineteenth century. The subject is treated broadly and without bias, in a way that will interest the general reader and supply a student of philosophy with a clear outline of each system, and furnish counsels for wider reading. The teachers of philosophy in four of the chief training schools of America have expressed their warm approval of the book, and its merit will grow upon everyone who studies it. A brief summary of the life of each philosopher is followed by a paragraph dealing with the "sources." Here the most recent publications are mentioned, and one or two standard works named which are easy of access. The doctrines are next expounded in the most luminous fashion, and every contribution to philosophical thought is framed in its historic relations to earlier and later teaching. At the end of each chapter suggestions for criticism are offered under the title "Historical Position." This is one of the most valuable features in the book. A sentence or two from the close of the chapter on Spinoza will show the character of the work : "If we consider merely the speculative elements in Spinoza's philosophy, we must pronounce him to be at once a pantheist and an empiricist, an anomalous being, reminding us of the winged bull of Assyrian art—a creature of air and a creature of earth. But, as has been pointed out above, Spinoza's aim was practical rather than theoretical. For him metaphysics was what it had been for Plato—a religion and a refuge. In it he hoped to find that view of the universe which would reconcile him to his own hard fate and enable him to rise to a plane where his enemies could not reach him."

The treatment of Scholasticism is an outstanding feature of the book, and no student can afford to overlook it. Scholasticism

really owed its origin to the schools founded by Charlemagne. Professor Turner has gone direct to the works of the great Schoolmen, having abundantly seen the danger of relying on secondary authorities for this period. St. Thomas Aquinas was called the "Dumb Ox" by his fellow students at Cologne, but his master, Albert the Great, predicted that his "lowing" would sound through the whole world. That prediction was amply fulfilled. St. Thomas "perfected the Scholastic method, and consecrated to the service of truth the dialectic which rationalists had abused and which mystics had denounced. He determined for all time the true relation between faith and reason; and, while avoiding the extremes of rationalism and mysticism gave permanent form to the thought which had inspired every Christian philosopher since the days of Justin, the first of the great apologists." He stands out as the most commanding figure in the history of mediæval thought. Duns Scotus is the critic who excels all the Schoolmen in acumen, but he is wanting in that synthetic power which St. Thomas possessed in so pre-eminent a degree, and which, more than any other quality of mind, stamps the writer or thinker as a philosopher. Professor Turner has laid teachers and students of philosophy under a great debt by a book which is as lucid as it is exact and comprehensive.

Home Life under the Stuarts, 1603-1649. By Elizabeth Godfrey. Illustrated. (London: Grant Richards. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Godfrey has found rich material for her book in the memoirs of the early Stuart period, and she has used it with great skill. Her chapters are crowded with details about home life, from the cradle to the schoolroom, and then through the excitements of courtship and marriage to the cares of house-keeping, the marvels of needlework, and the delights of gardening. The children of Stuart days flit across the writings of that period "like little ghosts, often hardly more than a name." Yet we can glean some details as to their position in the household, especially from the Verney Memoirs. The painters have made amends for the writers in their portraits of little boys and girls—the girls and very small boys in long frocks, stiff stomachers, and lace caps; the older boys in Cavalier suits, with curled love-locks. Some of them are reproduced in this volume, and charming little creatures they are. Though

they have a gravity which seems somewhat unnatural to our more degenerate age, the chapters on public schools and the university give a good idea of the training of the times. Girls were not neglected. "It is a popular delusion that giving women a sound classical education is an invention of our own days. It is rather a reversion to an older custom after a period of neglect, during which a strange fashion of helplessness and ignorance for women had come in." Lucy Apsley, who married Colonel Hutchinson, certainly was quite a blue stocking. The chapters on love and marriage are the most charming in the book, and one follows these faded romances with an interest that is keen and fresh after the lapse of more than two and a half centuries. The book never tires us, and though it covers a wide field it is far from superficial. There is a great deal of pleasant knowledge to be gleaned from its pages.

Methodism in Canada : Its Work and Its Story. By Alexander Sutherland, D.D. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 4s. 6d.)

The Thirty-third Fernley Lecture will be read with keen appreciation on both sides of the Atlantic. Dr. Sutherland first describes the territory over which his Church extends, and gives a set of facts and figures which show the present strength of Canadian Methodism. Then he describes the pioneer days when the foundations of the Church were laid by such men as Darius Dunham, Calvin Wooster, Samuel Coote, and Nathan Bangs. Some quaint stories are told of these early itinerants. Coote would ride up to a friend's house, and, before shaking hands with his host, would kneel down by a chair and spend a few moments in silent prayer. Then he would rise and greet each member of the family with his accustomed affability and affection. He wore his hair in flowing curls, which he combed out every morning, and arranged with scrupulous care. Another man of might was Major George Neal, whose call to the ministry was peculiar. He dreamt that a glittering sword was given him, having two edges, and with the name of Wesley emblazoned thereon. The work in Canada had been connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but in 1824 the first Conference of Canadian preachers was held, and in 1828 the societies in Canada became a distinct and independent Church. The bonds were now drawn more closely with England, and our Missionary Committee made an immediate increase in the

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number of its labourers in Upper and Lower Canada. The relations became somewhat strained when Dr. Egerton Ryerson was making his stand for complete religious liberty for Methodism in Canada, and in 1840 the Canada Conference resolved that the continuance of the intimate union with the British Conference was impracticable. The account of this period will appeal strongly to students of Methodist history. Lovers of missions will be delighted with the chapter on the "Founding and Development of Missions." It is a noble and inspiring record. The last pages of the lecture are devoted to the triumphant union of Methodism, which has made our Church so powerful in Canada. Dr. Sutherland took a prominent part in the anxious discussions that led up to this historic event, and deals with the subject in a most instructive way. His book is a valuable addition to the history of Methodism, and supplies fresh proof, in this bi-centenary year, of the world-wide influence of Wesley.

THE WESLEY BI-CENTENARY.

In connexion with the Wesley Bi-centenary the Wesleyan Book-Room has published a set of volumes which are of singular interest, not merely to Methodists but to all students of the Evangelical Revival. The place of honour belongs to the edition of *Wesley's Journal* (3s. 6d. per volume) which the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock has condensed into two volumes with much skill and a keen perception of what is likely to attract and instruct the general reader. Every Englishman ought to know something of Wesley's wonderful record of his own life, and these clearly printed volumes are by far the best condensation that has yet appeared. A still further abridgment of the *Journal* in a single volume (2s.) appeals specially to young people and to busy men. We hope that it may have a wide circulation. It cannot fail to increase the admiration of its readers for Wesley, and though the *Journal* has had to be severely abridged it is a living picture of the man and his work. Condensation has not robbed it of vigour or vitality. *Wesley Studies* (3s. 6d.) consists of thirty-one papers selected from the bi-centenary numbers of the *Wesleyan Magazine* and *Methodist Recorder*, to which President Roosevelt's address at the celebration in New York has been added. The papers are the work of experts, and cover a wide range of subjects. Information is here which can be found

nowhere else, and one cannot find a dull page in the volume. Those who put it on their shelves will regard it as one of the best investments they ever made in Wesley literature. Lines of thought and inquiry are opened up which are sure to receive fruitful development by-and-by. No one who covets a Wesley treasure should fail to secure *Wesley's First Sermon and other First Things in the Life of the Father of Methodism* (Kelly, 1s.). The sermon and letters are given in *facsimile*, with notes, which call attention to the chief points of interest in each of these "first things." Everyone of them is a treasure. The sermon itself is a delightful revelation of the young clergyman's mind and heart; and the letters are historic. We give the palm to this pamphlet among all the Bi-centenary publications. The Methodist who can only allow himself one Wesley memento ought to seize on this.

The Roots of Methodism (2s.), by W. B. Fitz-Gerald, is an attempt to explain the meaning of Methodism to its own sons and daughters. It is somewhat discursive, but it is brightly written and suggestive. Young Methodists will understand their own Church better and become more loyal to it as they read these pleasant chapters. We have noticed a few points which might be revised in a second edition. On page 97, for "Witham" read "Wathen." On page 146 "ex-stewards have also seats" in the Quarterly Meeting should be guarded against the construction that they have a right to a seat as ex-stewards.

George Fox's Journal. Abridged by Percy L. Parker.
(London: Isbister & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

The success of Mr. Parker's abridgment of *Wesley's Journal* has led him to prepare this edition of Fox. His volume contains one fourth of the matter in the original, but Fox suffers much less by abridgment than Wesley, for his voluminous correspondence with rulers and magistrates can very well be spared from a popular edition. Mr. Parker has done his work well, and those who have not courage or leisure to attack the complete *Journal* will find here a revelation of the famous Quaker and a sight of his work which will both amuse and instruct them. The story of Fox's treatment in Cornwall in 1655 is intensely dramatic, and when the Quaker breaks back at Redruth to speak to the old man of the house, despite the soldiers and their pistols, we are almost ready to clap our hands. Fox's views of religious truth are scarcely less interesting than the record of his

travels and witness-bearing. The print is bold, and the headings to the paragraphs are helpful. We hope this abridgment will be as popular as that of *Wesley's Journal*, which is now in its twelfth thousand. The Wesley abridgment has evidently reached many who would never have dreamed of tackling the four volumes; and although we miss some familiar passages that we should like to have had included, we are glad to think of the multitude of new friends who must have been won for Wesley by this edition. On page 256 (eight lines from bottom) for *hither* read *either*.

A Popular History of the Free Churches. By C. Silvester Horne, M.A. With Thirty-eight full-page Illustrations. (London: James Clarke & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Horne has written a book that is really alive from the first page to the last. He does not quote authorities, and there is an entire absence of footnotes or references. He has a case, and he argues it out with strong conviction and a good grip of the whole subject. His judgments of men and things do not always commend themselves to us, but they are expressed with force and fearlessness, and the most convinced Anglican will find that there is much to learn from this Nonconformist view of history. The chapter on "The Great Revival" opens with an impressive sketch of the spiritual death which had seized on England two centuries ago. When Mr. Horne discusses the Kilham case he shows his bias and fails to understand the real merits of the case. His censure of the Conference is certainly not deserved. We are glad to note the fine tribute to the Primitive Methodists: "These plain, blunt, homely, self-educated evangelists of Primitive Methodism belong to the saints and heroes of England."

Roman Britain, by Edward Conybeare (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 3s. 6d.), is a little book on a great subject, but it is full of matter and picturesque in style. There is no small volume on Britain in the time of the Romans which is so satisfactory as this. Anyone who reads it will feel that he has gained a definite idea of parts of our history which are very hazy for most of us. The book is a valuable addition to an excellent series.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B. By Charles L. Graves. (London : Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

IN his time Sir George Grove played many parts. He began life as a civil engineer, and did some good work in erecting light-houses in the West Indies ; for many years he was Secretary to the Crystal Palace, where he made the Saturday Popular Concerts one of the chief factors in the musical education of the time ; he threw himself with enthusiasm into the work of preparing Murray's *Dictionary of the Bible* ; he edited the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, and he closed his course as first Director of the Royal College of Music. He had boundless energy and wonderful versatility. His circle of friends was very large, and he was bubbling over with life and good spirits. Canon Ainger says, " He was a humourist and *raconteur* such as one seldom met. No wonder that he attracted men of all sorts, interested in any of his subjects, and exercised a kind of fascination over the young and aspiring. For with everything that he thought and said and wrote was blended that charm of enthusiasm which kindles love as well as admiration." Religion was the very breath of his life. For him it meant a devout and humble following of our Lord's example. He had a horror of all literature which tended to corrupt the mind, and could not understand the taste which kept all the opera house raving over the "savage, diabolical story" of *Tristan*. "My impression of it was that it was very long, very loud, but my soul revolted."

Mr. Graves has made the fullest use of notebooks and correspondence in order that Sir George might reveal himself with as little comment or criticism as possible. The result is a volume that is simply packed with good things. Ghost stories and adventures, glimpses of famous people, come on every page and afford endless food for discussion and for pleasant laughter. Dean Stanley was perhaps the friend for whom Sir George cherished the most enthusiastic regard. He chuckles over

Stanley's first sermons as Dean of Westminster, and especially one in which the Dean "showed and exulted in the fact, that the best known and valued hymns had been written by heretics, non-jurors, Dissenters, Calvinists, Wesleyans. . . . There never was such a good Samaritan, such a praiser of other good Samaritans, such a pourer of oil and balm into the wounds and rents of his brethren, as this dear Dean of mine." Stanley's death was one of the great sorrows of Grove's life. Dr. Bradley, who was Lady Grove's brother, became Stanley's successor, and to him Grove wrote in 1900, "My mind has been much exercised about Newman lately. To him, and to the stronger men who took the reins out of his hands, we owe the flood of ritualism and material worship and magic that now fills the Church, and I for one don't feel very grateful. Our Church is fast becoming, from the reasonable service which was the pride of the country, a mere magic mill for the production of Sacraments which are to act as charms." At Tennyson's funeral he was struck by the taste and feeling of the whole service—so much superior to anything that one would see in France or Germany. "I do think that our feeling about Eternal Life is very different and much higher than anything abroad, and, therefore, that we naturally have a more appropriate and impressive (in the true sense) way of commemorating the entrance of our dead into it."

Sir George's father belonged to an old family settled at Penn, in Buckinghamshire. He came up to London and entered into business at Charing Cross. "As a boy he had played the haut-boy in the parish church in Buckinghamshire, and was all his life and on all occasions a great singer of hymns; for he had come under the influence of the great Evangelical Revival, and by his own practice showed a wholesome regard for the view that 'those who don't sing on earth, won't sing in heaven.'" In a discussion of what constitutes sublimity, Grove says, "John Wesley's hymn,

Lo! on a narrow neck of land,

is really sublime, isn't it?" The tribute is worth noting, but the hymn was written by Charles Wesley.

Readers of this volume will find it singularly instructive and delightful, and will feel it a real tonic for a tired mind and drooping heart. Sir George never lost his faith in his principles. "Time is the best art sifter, and nothing will really die which is worthy to live."

The Faith of Robert Louis Stevenson. By John Kelman, Junr., M.A. (London : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 6s.)

This book will be very welcome to lovers of Robert Louis Stevenson. It deals with many aspects of his work, and is studded with choice passages from his books which show how pure in heart, how patient and optimistic, Stevenson was. He "had to fight against terrible odds his battle for the gladder faith," but he won his victory and taught the world a lesson which it can never forget. "His victory proves that the thing can be done. All who will may make a stand against the gloom which they have seen closing in upon themselves and their time." Stevenson's gospel of glad healthfulness was laid upon sound foundations. He took "seriously Jesus Christ's command that His disciples should rejoice," and amid all the trials of failing health he behaved himself as a Christian hero. The book is beautifully written, and thinkers and students of life will find matter for thought on every page. Here is a suggestive fragment. "I feel every day as if religion had a greater interest for me ; but that interest is still centred on the little rough-and-tumble world in which our fortunes are cast for the moment. I cannot transfer my interests, not even my religious interests, to any different sphere."

Robert Browning. By G. K. Chesterton. (London : Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

This is an illuminating critique of Browning the man, and Browning the poet. Mr. Chesterton has keen and clear vision, and his book makes the whole subject more intelligible to men of prosaic minds. We have seen no discussion of all that led up to Browning's marriage that gets to the heart of the matter like this. Love delivered Elizabeth Barrett from a kind of living death. She "discovered at last that her father was, in truth, not a man to be treated with ; hardly, perhaps, even a man to be blamed. She knew, to all intents and purposes, that she had grown up in the house of a madman." The vindication of Browning, as against Horne, the Spiritualist, is complete and well put. Browning, "delighted, with a true poetic delight, in being conventional," describes emotions which others share, and is always faithful to these great conventions. The key to the whole series of Browning's caustic monologues, of which

Bishop Blougram's Apology is, perhaps, the most famous, is that "a man cannot help telling some truth, even when he sets out to tell lies." The "burly and even brutal English" of these poems is in keeping with the theme. It was Browning's speciality to put large and noble truths into the lips of mean and grotesque human beings. That characteristic invests both poem and poet with never-failing interest, and this book will furnish many a clue for the student who wishes to increase his knowledge of human nature. Mr. Chesterton needs to prune his own phrases, which are sometimes blunt and awkward.

The Life of Benvenuto Cellini. Written by himself. Translated out of the Italian. With an Introduction by Anne Macdonell. Two Volumes. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 7s. net.)

This is the first of *The Temple Autobiographies*, edited by Mr. William Macdonald. He claims that a great literary autobiography far outsteps a great biography. Its inevitable *surplusage* of veracity and self-portraiture—an extra treasure dropped, as it were, by accident in the deliberate act of bestowing—gives to autobiography its full charged character and animation. Cellini's book well illustrates that dictum. Miss Macdonell points out, in her fine Introduction, that the artist has a supreme interest in himself. "He is always frankly in the foreground of his pictures of the world. Contemporary dramas where he plays no part are never put on his stage." The reader follows him through that life which was a long series of battles, in which he had invariably been in the right. His tale is "a triumphant hero's march through a hostile country; ambuscades and assaults at every stage, but everywhere the enemy left smarting behind." The "bully of genius" has no doubt shown himself in the most favourable light. J. A. Symonds came to the conclusion that he was neither base nor a rogue. Miss Macdonell thinks he was both, but she adds: "To minimise or explain his enormities is not the way to give him his due. When you have called him rogue you have not come to the end of Cellini. He had phases enough, activities enough, to make his rascalities seem but incidents in his career." His account of his relations with Francis I. is probably the least veracious part of his story, but in other parts his account is largely corroborated by contemporary documents.

Miss Macdonell pays a high tribute to Symonds's translation. Her own owes no small debt to it, and scholars will feel that it is as exact as ample knowledge and patient care could make it. The bibliography and notes add greatly to the value of the work, and the seven portraits and specimens of Cellini's masterpieces are a very welcome addition to an edition which seems likely to take rank as the standard edition of the book which is the greatest proof of Cellini's genius.

Maimonides. By David Yellin and Israel Abrahams.
(London : Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This little book, published for the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Jewish Publication Society of America, forms the first of a series of volumes on "Jewish Worthies." A Hebrew biography of Maimonides by Mr. Yellin formed its basis, but Mr. Abrahams has re-written and added to this work. Moses Maimonides was born in Cordova in 1135, and became the means of the revival and purification of Judaism in days when its people in Spain and Africa were in danger of being absorbed by Islam. He gained a great reputation as physician to the Vizier in Cairo, and Richard I. wanted him to come to England as his own medical attendant, but Maimonides was not to be tempted. It seemed at one time as though he was to become the autocrat of Jewish life. His *Guide of the Perplexed* set Judaism aflame. He himself made no claim to infallibility, but there is no doubt that his *Code*, which was a complete digest and clear-cut decision of every question touching the religious, social, moral, and ritual duties of the Jews, was in danger of obscuring the Talmud itself. Maimonides was a broad-minded thinker who declined to be misled by astrology, and said that "the teachings of Him of Nazareth (Jesus) and of the man of Ishmael (Mohammed), who arose after him, help to bring to perfection all mankind, so that they may serve God with one consent." He added: "And when Messiah comes all will return from their errors." One of his golden words is "Teach, do not recriminate." The book gives a most instructive account of the man and his times. Despite the famous dictum, "*A Mose ad Mosem non sic ut Moses*," we feel that Maimonides is a poor teacher indeed compared with Christ. The notes to this biography will be very helpful to the student, and it has some illustrations which add to its interest.

The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes; or, The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight. By William Roper. (London : De La More Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

Roper's life of his father-in-law has some inaccuracies, due to the fact that it was written from memory, but it brings us nearer to the great Lord Chancellor than any other memorial of him. Roper married More's eldest daughter, who had a double portion of her father's spirit, and lived for many years under More's roof, at Chelsea. Familiarity only deepened the affection and reverence which he felt for the greatest and best man of the time, and no one can read this touching story without sharing his admiration and regard for More. Some beautiful letters from More to Margaret Roper are added to the *Life*. The notes and introduction are just what a reader wants to complete his enjoyment. The volume is got up in a most attractive style, and is a welcome addition to *The King's Classics*. Nothing better worth attention from lovers of choice reading is to be found in the market.

How David Hill Followed Christ. By Jane E. Hellier. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

Miss Hellier's reminiscences of David Hill as a Richmond student are very pleasant reading, and the interest which was then awakened increased when the young missionary became immersed in his work in China. That personal note adds much to the charm of this book. David Hill was one of the most devoted and unselfish men that Methodism ever gave to the mission field, and Miss Hellier's bright little book brings him and his work so close to a reader that it is bound to make an impression. The spirit of Francis of Assisi lived in this Methodist missionary, who scorned luxury and was delivered from pride and ambition, from love of self and desire for ease. We are thankful that Miss Hellier has given such a true and beautiful picture of a saint and hero.

V. BELLES LETTRES.

Pictures of Christ Framed in Prayers. A Devotional Life of Jesus. By Joseph Dawson. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 3s.)

MR. DAWSON has struck a new vein of ore, and we feel that it is real gold. In a succession of verses he deals with the chief incidents in the life of our Lord so as to stir thought and kindle devotion. Each page contains one verse, headed by an appropriate quotation from the Gospels, which serves as its text, and a couple of closing lines form a kind of prayer or application. A tasteful framework is printed in inks of various colours. The book may, as Mr. Dawson says, be read straight through as a continuous life of Christ, or taken, a page a day, as a devotional text-book. The last page will give some conception of the style of the work, and we hope that it may tempt many to secure the book and to use it regularly.

"And they worshipped Him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy."—Luke xxiv. 52.

Still blessing, He is upward borne,
Ascending on the wings of light
Till clouds receive Him from their sight.
And they are left, no more to mourn,
But work and wait with hope-lit eyes
Till they rejoin Him in the skies.

What earth in sorrow gives the sky,
Will come back shining by and by!

The Golden Sayings of Epictetus. With the Hymn of Cleanthes. Translated and arranged by Hastings Crossley, M.A. With Frontispiece. (London : Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a welcome addition to the *Golden Treasury Series*. "No braver soul ever looked out from the pages of a book" than the slave of Nero's profligate freedman. "An hour with Epictetus," Mr. Crossley says, "is a tonic ; in our own despite we are braced and strengthened as by a plunge into salt water,

or by the rough but invigorating breezes on a high down." Mr. Crossley's preface leads us up to the door of this Stoic teacher with warm expectation, and the expectation is not disappointed. The atmosphere, as Matthew Arnold put it, is bleak and grey, but those on whom the Sun of Righteousness has risen can best appreciate the strength of such a kingly soul as Epictetus. "Try to enjoy the great festival of life with other men." The man who uttered that saying was no misanthrope. "Without God put thine hand unto nothing." The man who acted thus had found a golden rule of life; and he who felt that wheresoever his lot was cast he should "still find sun, moon, and stars; dreams, omens, and converse with the gods," was superior to all the assaults of adverse fortune. Death kept daily before the eyes was for Epictetus the sweetener of life. "Then wilt thou never think a mean thought, nor covet anything beyond measure." We are thankful to Mr. Crossley for this beautiful collection of what he calls "the fruit of Epictetus."

Euphranor. A Dialogue on Youth. By Edward Fitzgerald.
(London: Methuen & Co. 2s.)

This reprint is founded on Fitzgerald's first edition of 1851. No cheap copy of the dialogue has been on the market, and this ought to have a good sale. It represents the holiday talk of some Cambridge men on the training of children and young people, and starts on its way from some hint in Kenelm Digby's *Broadstone of Honour*, which had evidently made a deep impression on Fitzgerald's mind. The subject is a fruitful one, and it is spiced by many a bright aside and some pleasant banter. It is evident that the writer had brooded long over the question of the physical training of the young, and one may say of the dialogue what its writer says of Chaucer, that all of it "bespeaks a man of sound mind and body."

The Works of Charles Lamb (Newnes, 3s. 6d. net) is a welcome addition to Newnes's "Thin Paper Classics." All the immortal essays, the tender little story "Rosamund Grey," some letters published in *The Reflector*, five dramatic pieces, and Lamb's poems and translations from the Latin of Vincent Bourne are given. The volume contains more than 820 pages, but it is so light and so easy to use that it is a treasure. The type is bold and clear, and the portrait of Lamb is very fine. The edition is sure of a warm welcome, and it deserves it.

Christopolis (Partridge & Co., 2s. net) is an attempt to describe "life and its amenities in a land of garden cities." Intemperance, impurity, greed, and selfishness are banished from this new Utopia, and true refinement and Christian feeling reign. The allegory is well worked out, but the garden cities are surrounded in mist to the end. So far as we understand the book we are interested in it, but it is too much in the clouds.

The Poems of John Dyer. Edited by Edward Thomas. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1s., cloth 2s.)

Dyer deserved a place of honour in the "Welsh Library." He was born in Caermarthenshire in 1701, and died of consumption at his rectory of Coningsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1757. He was educated at Westminster School and intended for his father's profession as a lawyer; but he had no taste for the law, and began to study painting under Jonathan Richardson in Lincoln's Inn Fields. For some time he was an itinerant painter in South Wales and the adjoining English counties. He made a journey to Italy, and on his return published the poem "Grongar Hill," on which his fame rests. The hill is in sight of his birthplace, and the poem has a special charm, which endears it to every lover of nature. Dyer entered the Church when he was nearly forty, and at Coningsby he published his longest poem, "The Fleece." It is, perhaps, "dry and heavy" in some parts, as Wordsworth said, but it shows great force of expression and of thought, and has many fine passages.

Place and Power. By Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler. (London: Hutchinson & Co. 6s.)

Mrs. Felkin is much to be congratulated on her new story. It is political, but it is still more religious. From the first page to the last that note is never absent, and it gives the book unique value and interest. The man who worships power and defies God has to confess in the end that God has conquered, and that His mercy has given an altogether unexpected issue to the threat of the wandering preacher which had lain like a nightmare on Conrad Clayton's heart for forty years. The keen and clever sayings, which have gone far to make the fortune of Miss Fowler's earlier books, are here in rich measure, but the writer is both preacher and statesman as well. With a clear

grasp of the problems of the day, and a quiet confidence in the triumph of the highest and best cause, Mark Stillingfleet becomes Prime Minister at the age of forty, and wins the woman whom he has long loved and worshipped. There is a good deal of fireside worship in the book, and the four women who play the leading parts in the story make a fine set of studies. The men are even better drawn than the women, and the mystery at the end almost lifts us off our feet. We do not remember a secret better kept or more dramatically revealed, but how two such men as Mark and Archie could be so nearly related is a marvel that the story does not attempt to solve. To our mind it passes solution.

Barlasch of the Guard. By Henry Seton Merriman.
(London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

This is a piece of Mr. Merriman's best work. The story opens in Dantzic at the time when Napoleon is passing through the city on his fatal march to Moscow. The horrors of that time form a terrible background to the strange marriage of Désirée Sebastian. The girl's husband is a French spy who has to leave his bride on her wedding-day and dies at Vilna. Barlasch, one of Napoleon's veterans, is quartered in the Sebastian household, and becomes Désirée's protector when the girl is left alone in Dantzic. The grim ways of that old campaigner and his chivalrous care of the lonely girl are enough to make the fortune of any story. He lays down his life to secure Désirée's escape through the lines to the place where Louis d'Arragon is waiting to carry her to England and to happiness. The tears are very near our eyes when Papa Barlasch dies of the bullet wound. The story has an individuality of its own, and it is told with the force and freshness which have won Mr. Merriman a front place among our writers of fiction.

Knitters in the Sun : A Pastoral. By Algernon Gissing.
(London : Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

The young squire who loves Ursula Dee has rather hard measure dealt out to him. Ursula is a working man's daughter, and her refusal of Mr. Osborne leads him to a marriage with Zillah Tussill, the poacher's daughter. This girl is untamed and uneducated, but she is clever and a beauty. She causes her poor husband endless trouble, but at last learns to love him, and dies. The squire ought to have married Ursula, but she is

entangled with another man, whom she persists in marrying though she has really given her heart to Mr. Osborne. She becomes the good genius of the village, and helps the squire to carry out his schemes for developing fruit culture and peasant farming. A great passion for the country is felt throughout the book and its village characters are well drawn, but the account of Mr. Osborne's married life is not altogether pleasant or profitable reading.

Overdue, by W. Clark Russell (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), is a sea story such as Mr. Russell loves to tell. The captain's wife, who has been disinherited for her secret marriage with a poor man, hides herself on board his ship and shares all the perils and adventures of the voyage which he is making to recover some sunken treasure. The villain of the story is a Mr. Benson, who represents the insurance company. He forms a plot to kidnap the captain and seize his wife and the recovered treasure, but this scheme is happily thwarted and the plotter comes to a bad end. Mr. Russell's language would be better for some pruning, but he gives a vivid picture of life at sea.

The Rockingstone Schoolmaster. By Henry Lindsay.
(London : Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

These are thoroughly good stories. They revolve round the schoolhouse, and throw many a pleasant light over the faithful and fruitful work done by John Templeton and his wife. There are some pardonable bits of exaggeration, such as "The Humanising of Mr. Dodds," but the stories are so healthy and bring out the best sides of a character so cleverly that the volume is sure of a welcome wherever it goes.

The New Eden (Dublin : Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 6s.) is a book that is pleasant to read, bright, and breezy. The dialogue is keen-witted and sparkling. The bishop is refreshingly human, and Sylvia is a woman who is worthy of the bishop's manly son. The joint authorship of Sylvia and James Howard is rather hazy, but we are not inclined to find fault with a story which makes the best of so many lovers' difficulties and brings us happily to the eve of three promising weddings.

Algonquin Indian Tales. Collected by Egerton R. Young.
(London : Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Young has been collecting these myths and legends for thirty years. Sometimes a brief sentence or two heard in some

wigwam would arouse his curiosity, but years passed before he could secure the whole story. The same legend assumed different forms as told by various story-tellers, and no two tales agreed in many particulars. Mr. Young has chosen the version most in harmony with the instincts and characteristics of the pure Indian. He has strung the stories cleverly together, and English boys and girls will feel a lively interest in the little white children, Sagastao and Minnehaha, who go to the Indian huts for a tea-party, and hear these legends from Souwanas, and from their own Indian nurse. The adventures of Nanah-boozhoo fill the largest place in the collection. He is a mysterious being who can assume endless shapes, and knows how to bring his friends out of all kinds of trouble. The native stories are very racy. We learn how the bees got their stings to protect their honey; how the vulture lost the feathers from its head; how the marten came by the white spot in its breast. All the tales are told with spirit, and some very fine pictures are given of the Indian country with its rivers and waterfalls.

The House with the White Shutters, by C. R. Parsons (Kelly, 2s.), is a story of village Methodism. The young butcher from Banbury opens a barn for services, and some of the worst characters in North Ashley are reformed. The squire's son conceives a violent hatred of Mark Raymond, and several times tries to take his life, but Mark escapes his plots and becomes the most respected man in the place. The story is rather high flown, and there are some strange sentences, but it is sure to be popular in the villages, and it is likely to do much good.

Guid Bits frae Robert Burns. Illustrations by W. F. Brown, R.S.W. (Glasgow: D. Bryce & Son. 1s. net.)

These quotations from Burns number 1,400, and cover a wide range of subjects. They will help the reader to identify many phrases that have become current coin in Scotland. Few of the more famous pieces have been omitted. The source from which the sayings are taken is given, and a good glossary is added. Mr. Brown's pictures catch the spirit of the poetry, and are often quaint, though some are slight.

VI. ART AND TRAVEL.

The Work of Botticelli. (London : Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

THIS is the first volume of *Newnes's Art Library*. It is tastefully bound in quarter vellum with artistic paper sides, and the size of the book ($6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{4}$) makes it easy to bring out the beauty of the masterpieces of Botticelli. They deserve immortality. Some of the heads are superb, and the details of the work bear splendid witness to the painter's skill and industry. He lived in the palmy days of Florence, and early in life won the favour of that great connoisseur Lorenzo de' Medici. His chief strength was given to mythology and historical subjects. He delighted in all that was gay and joyous in life, but he was also a masterly exponent of the sterner emotions. Mr. Richard Davey's introductory pages are just what one needs to appreciate the sixty-four illustrations in monochrome, with a frontispiece in photogravure. The execution of these is very fine. The new series makes a very promising start.

The Life Work of George Frederick Watts, R.A. By Hugh Macmillan, D.D. (London : J. M. Dent & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Watts has never found a more sympathetic interpreter than Dr. Hugh Macmillan. He has been an ardent student of the painter's work for years, and has endeavoured to give "a literary interpretation of what Watts, with larger, other eyes than ours, has seen in nature, poetry, and myth, and in human character." The facts of the poet's life are briefly told, and the successive phases of his artistic development clearly sketched. Then the paintings are interpreted with the love and insight born of long study and congeniality of thought. The illustrations, from photographs by Frank Hollyer, are very successful, and add much to the value of a book which appeals to all lovers of the man whom Mrs. Meade justly described as "the painter of eternal truths."

L.Q.R., OCTOBER, 1903.

Walks in Rome. By Augustus J. C. Hare. Sixteenth Edition (Revised) with Plans, etc., by St. Clair Baddeley. Two Volumes. (London: George Allen. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Hare had well advanced in his revision of his *Walks in Rome* at the time of his death, and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley has finished the work in a way that enhances the value of the book as the most useful and instructive of all guides to the Eternal City. The traveller is taken possession of as he enters Rome, and guided at every step, so that he may make the best use of his time amid a wealth of art treasures and monuments of antiquity which would embarrass anyone who did not find such a guide. The quotations from the writings of famous visitors add greatly to the charm of the volumes. Mr. Hare always has an eye for the picturesque, and he is steeped in the literature and art that centres round Rome, so that the *Walks* are a real education for anyone who takes them in Mr. Hare's company. Those who have no immediate prospect of visiting Italy will find no mean compensation in these volumes. We are sorry that the writer's busy and fruitful life is finished. Mr. Hare's books have brought no small profit and pleasure to a multitude of readers.

Norwegian Byways. By Charles W. Wood. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Wood's double skill with pen and pencil makes this a very pleasant volume. His journey to Norway was taken in September, when it was not advisable to venture to Hammerfest and the Lofotens, but the travellers found abundant interest and pleasure in a more modest programme. "The journey from Stavanger to Bergen in sunshine," Mr. Wood says, "is full of charm. You for ever pass upwards through the interminable sea, shut amidst countless islands and promontories. Rocks of every form and shape and indescribable colour are never out of sight. A soft purple haze envelops the more distant, whilst those at hand seem to have borrowed some of the exquisite tints of the rainbow. In Norway melancholy can only exist in a diseased imagination; and nothing can minister to a mind diseased." Mr. Wood moves about everywhere with a poet's eye for the glories of pine woods and rocks and waterfalls. He is quick to observe a thousand little details about the country

and the people, and he makes us see all with our own eyes. The result is a book that will bring back their vanished joys to Norwegian travellers, and which will make other readers eager to follow in Mr. Wood's steps. He seems to have made friends everywhere, and they supply a welcome thread of human incident amid the glories of nature. The book keeps one interested from the first page to the last.

Highways and Byways in South Wales. By A. G. Bradley.

With Illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs. (London : Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

South Wales is comparatively little known to English holiday-makers. Llandrindod, with its salubrious air and its mineral springs, has gained a great reputation, but Llanwyrtyd has scarcely emerged from the humble status of an old-fashioned Welsh spa. Its day is sure to come. The wild charms of its situation and environment are unrivalled by any inland watering-place in England or Wales, and its sulphur spring is one of the best in Europe. Those who read about it will be eager to visit this charming spot at the foot of mountains over which you may travel nearly fifty miles without meeting a human being to speak of. Mr. Bradley began his tour in Radnorshire, which contains fewer inhabitants than many a good-sized country town. Only Devonshire can rival it in beauty, and "even that most delectable of Southern English counties would be sorely pressed in the competition." As we follow our guide through the little county its charms soon make themselves felt, and many a racy story and legend beguiles the journey. We visit the Vale of Towy, famous in Welsh song and history; we see Golden Grove, where Jeremy Taylor once found a shelter, and Grongar Hill, which Dyer has invested with such charm by his poem. Lampeter and St. David's have been strongholds of clerical influence, but Daniel Rowlands and Howel Harris have left their stamp on the region where they won their triumphs in Wesley's day. The fine coast scenery of the region is well described by both pen and picture, and Mr. Bradley has the light literary touch which lends charm to such a book as this. The illustrations are very effective.

Lake Country Sketches. By H. D. Rawnsley. (Glasgow : MacLehose & Sons. 5s. net.)

For lovers of the Lake Country this is a book full of delights. Canon Rawnsley has gathered up some recollections

of Wordsworth from the peasant folk who knew him, which bring the homely poet closer to us than some laboured volumes, and his sketches of Lakeside worthies, notably that of the Skiddaw Shepherd, have caught a fragrance of the fell and mountain-side where their lives were passed. The nature studies are as good as the biographical sketches. Lodore after a downpour, Windermere coated with ice, Fox's yew-tree at Lorton, the account of Cumberland foxhunting, have specially pleased us. The book evidently comes from the heart, and as a picture of the Lake Country and its people it has few rivals.

In Lakeland's Dells and Fells. By W. T. Palmer.
(London : Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

This volume will increase the reputation which Mr. Palmer gained by his *Lake Country Rambles*. The account of "Shepherd Life among the Fells" is the best we have ever seen. South country folk will scarcely believe that in a four days' storm forty ewes died in one flock and the whole lambing was spoiled. The description of a drover's journey from Cumberland to the north of Scotland is well worth study. The first day the flock of sheep covered forty miles ; by degrees they got down to twenty-one miles a day. Sheep can breathe easily through a covering of twenty feet of snow, and Mr. Palmer gives a wonderful account of one mountain catastrophe in which the poor creatures had to be dug out after a fearful storm. Fell-walking records take up many pages, and we climb with Mr. Palmer up the ghylls and ramble over the dales and fells with eager delight. Of mountain fox-hunting he has much to tell, as well as of the excitements of the angler and the sportsman. Two stirring papers give a description of the crossing of Morecambe Bay. "The dangers of the sands were so well known from the earliest times that the abbeyes, and after their dissolution the Crown, were charged to maintain men whose duty it was to vigilantly study the tideway and conduct passengers safely across. The post of guide on the Kent sands was held by one family for over five hundred years." Mr. Palmer knows the Lake District as few men know it, and his book is far more exciting than a romance.

Hampshire Days. By W. H. Hudson. With Illustrations. (London : Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Hudson's book will give unfeigned pleasure to every lover of nature. It is largely concerned with the New Forest,

which is a world of delights to the author. He has spent hours there watching the adders basking in the sun, and studying the ways of the hornet, which is one of his prime favourites. The large number of hornets is, indeed, one of the attractions of the New Forest to him. He has heard farmers say that they would not hurt a hornet, which they regard as a blessing to their flocks. "So it is; and so is every insect that helps to keep down the everlasting plague of cattle-worrying and crop-destroying flies and grubs and caterpillars." We have never read so exact and so full an account of the way that the young cuckoo ejects an egg or a fellow-nestling. Everyone who is interested in that subject ought to read it. Mr. Hudson has some things to tell us about Selborne which we are very glad to know. He speaks of its famous yew, and says that he doubts whether there is a warmer village in England than Selborne, though the moisture and greenery that surround and almost cover it somewhat temper the heat. The best of Selborne, however, is the common on the hill. It is "the most forest-like, the wildest in England, and the most beautiful as well, both in its trees and tangles of all kinds of wild plants that flourish in waste places, and in the prospects which one gets of the surrounding country." Mr. Hudson has much to tell us about Hampshire folk as well as about weasels, birds, flowers, and insects, and he tells all so simply and with such evident relish that we are very sorry when our travels in the county are over. The book is a real treasure for every lover of the country.

Messrs. Dulau & Co. have published new editions of their *Thorough Guides* to North Devon and North Cornwall (3s. 6d. net), and South Devon and South Cornwall (4s. net). They have been revised with the utmost care and are furnished with many maps and plans which will be of great service to a tourist, and with hints as to routes and objects of interest. The fullest information is given in the briefest form. We have found the two volumes thoroughly trustworthy wherever we have been able to test them closely. Some reference to Wesley's work in Cornwall might be included in a later edition; the name of Lucas Malet's husband might be given under Clovelly, and also some reference to the service which Kingsley's father used to hold with the fishermen before they put to sea. Under Helston we should like a line about the Grammar School where Derwent Coleridge was master and Kingsley a pupil. It is now part of the public library.

Mayfair, Belgravia, and Bayswater. By G. E. Mitton and Others. (London : A. & C. Black. 1s. 6d. net.)

Every page of this little book is full of details about famous people and famous houses in the most fashionable district of London. We have been struck by the care with which every street is worked, so that its treasured bits of history may be unveiled, and the visitor enabled to find out each spot for himself. The book is small, but it is packed with matter of great interest to a lover of London streets and houses.

The Shakespeare Country, Illustrated, with maps and appendices illustrating *The Washington Country and the Franklin Country.* (London : Newnes. 3s. net.)

This is a guide book of the best sort. It is brightly written and crowded with pictures, many of them full-page pictures, of Stratford-on-Avon, Kenilworth, Warwick, and the scenes associated with Shakespeare's life. Nothing could be more attractive or more helpful to a visitor. The Washington and Franklin sections are, of course, on a small scale, but they are scarcely less interesting than the Shakespeare part of the book. Lovers of Shakespeare will feel that the spirited publisher has laid them under a great debt by this lovely collection of pictures and by the delightful reading which accompanies them.

The Cathedral Church of St. Alban's. By Thomas Perkins, M.A. (London : Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Perkins has used his pen and camera with great skill in this volume. It gives an account of the fabric from its first foundation to the restorations of late years, which have furnished so much food for controversy. A short history of the famous monastery and its abbots is added, with some account of the Great Gatehouse, the quaint roundhouse called "The Fighting Cocks," and the churches of the city. It is a most reliable and instructive handbook, which will prove a welcome addition to the valuable Cathedral Series. The church has no flying buttresses or pinnacles ; all is severely plain ; but if the first feeling on visiting it is one of disappointment, the building has some features of unusual interest, and its tower is unrivalled for its simple dignity.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Text Book of Geology. By Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S.
Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (London:
Macmillan & Co. 2 vols., 30s.)

THE first edition of this Text Book was published in 1882. In preparing the fourth edition, Sir Archibald Geikie has sought to bring every section of it abreast of the onward march of geological science. Some portions have been recast or rewritten; others have been largely augmented by incorporating the results of the latest researches. Between thirty and forty illustrations have been added and some three hundred pages. The method adopted is that which Sir Archibald used as Professor of Geology in the University of Edinburgh. The student is enabled to gain a good grasp of the general principles of the science and a familiarity with and an interest in details, of which the bearing is shown in the general system of knowledge. The subject is distributed under seven leading divisions, which show how vast is the range of the science. First, the Cosmical Aspects of Geology are traced so that the relations of the earth to other members of the solar system may be made clear; then we turn to Geognosy, with its inquiry into the materials of the earth's substance. Dynamical Geology, with its study of the operations which lead to the formation, alteration, and disturbance of rocks, and the physical and chemical experiments by which those operations may be elucidated, is discussed with special detail. We are now ready for Geotectonic or Structural Geology, with all the wonders of the architecture of the earth. Palæontological Geology deals with the organic forms preserved in the rocks; Stratigraphical Geology works out the chronological succession of the great formations of the earth's crust; and Physio-graphical Geology makes inquiry into the history of the present features of the earth's surface—continental ridges, ocean basins, plains, valleys, mountains. Illustrations are taken from all parts of the earth's surface, and the whole literature of the subject is laid under contribution. Geology bristles with problems, and many of them seem incapable of solution, but the student will

find almost everything that can be known on the subject gathered together in these encyclopædic volumes, and will learn from the lists of books given where he may pursue any special line of inquiry to most advantage. The work represents the labours of a life-time, and Sir Archibald Geikie is the most accomplished and trustworthy of guides through the great domain of which he holds the keys. The illustrations will be of the utmost service to students of this masterly and enthralling book.

The Old Methodism and the New. By George Jackson, B.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1s.)

Mr. Jackson's book is slight, but it touches many burning questions, and is sure to set its readers thinking. The first portion of the lecture deals with the ecclesiastical position of Methodism. "We hold ourselves free," says the writer, "absolutely regardless of a petty self-consistency, to avail ourselves of any and every method which will enable us more effectively to fulfil our great mission." That is one of the most sagacious sayings in the little volume, but when Mr. Jackson comes to deal with the Free Church Council and Methodist Union he is scarcely so happy. There are evils worse than division, and unless Methodism proceeds with due caution it may bring on itself years of internal unrest and weakness. The safe way is to let brotherly love increase, and to cultivate that better understanding which may ripen into closer fellowship by-and-by. In dealing with the doctrines of Methodism, Mr. Jackson attempts to show how modern criticism has affected the position of many thoughtful men as to the inspiration of the Bible and future retribution. In his closing section Mr. Jackson does scant justice to Wesley's education of his people in morality and in the use of their votes at elections. What religious leader ever gave his people a more "healthy, vigorous, moral training" than John Wesley?

The Education of the Wesleyan Ministry, by Professor Findlay (Kelly, 6d. net), is a little pamphlet that every Methodist ought to master. It contains the two weighty and timely articles on the better training of our ministry which Dr. Findlay contributed to this REVIEW. The Conference has endorsed a scheme of reform. Headingley College is to be enlarged to receive sixty-four students instead of thirty-eight. It is estimated that

three hundred students will shortly be on the books of the Institution instead of one hundred and eighty. The Primitive Methodists, through the noble generosity of Mr. Hartley, are about to enlarge their college at Manchester, and the future of our own Church largely depends on the response made to such an appeal as that of Professor Findlay.

Mr. Kelly also sends us *A Manual of Directions for the Use of Candidates for the Ministry* (6d.), which will be of great service to both candidates and superintendent ministers; a second edition of Mr. R. J. Wardell's clear and simple *Manual of Sermon Construction* (1s.), and *Pulpit Equipment*, by A. R. Kelley (1s.). Mr. Kelley's book is a primer for local preachers. It is very complete and very homely. Pronunciation, grammar, dress, behaviour—all are included, and all are put in a way that makes them easy to remember. The little manual ought to do great service in many a country circuit.

The Bishop's English. By George Washington Moon, Hon. F.R.S.L. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Moon is really too much of a purist for our taste, and Bishop Thornton's pamphlet is scarcely worthy of the field battery which opens on it here. But if the critic is too pedantic and exacting, his plea for absolute clearness in the framing of sentences ought to lead many of us to prune our pages. In that respect the little book is to be welcomed, and it shows that the critic who attacked *The Dean's English* forty years ago is still as acute, and, we might add, as severe, as he was at the age of forty.

Cycles and Cycling. By H. Hewitt Griffin. (London: Bell & Sons. 2s.)

This book made its first appearance in 1880, when the pneumatic tyre was making a revolution in the world of trade, sport, and pastime. The manual has been getting more perfect with each edition, and in the present issue everything is brought up to date. There is a chapter on "The Motor Cycle and How to Master It," a chapter for ladies, by Miss Agnes Wood; a chapter on the choice and repair of a cycle and a revised history of the cycle, which shows its development during the

last century and a half. That we have found the most instructive part of the book. The hints on training are good reading and full of good sense.

Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain, with an Appendix on the Religious Houses in America. By Francesca M. Steele. (London: Washbourne. 6s.)

This is a book that may well make Protestants open their eyes. The chief space is given to historic sketches of the founders of the various Orders, with some account of the fortunes of the Order. A few details are given as to the houses of each Order in England. The work has been carefully done, and will be of great service to anyone who wishes to study the subject. It shows how much Roman Catholicism is alive in England.

Church Hymns with Tunes. New Edition. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

During the last five years a committee has been preparing this edition of *Church Hymns* with great care. About 250 hymns included in the old edition have been omitted, and 320 others added to the collection. The number of Hymns for children has been more than doubled. Special attention has been given to the text, and it is confidently believed that it is the most accurate reproduction of the originals that can be found anywhere. This claim is not, however, borne out by an inspection of Charles Wesley's Ascension Hymn. Dr. C. H. Lloyd, Precentor and Musical Instructor of Eton College, has been musical editor, and about sixty plain-song tunes have been selected and harmonized by Dr. Basil Harwood, of Christ Church, Oxford. In all cases where a plain-song tune has been allotted to any hymn, an alternative modern tune is also given. Four editions of the words (4d. to 1s. 8d.) and two editions with music (2s. 4d. and 2s. 8d.) are issued.

The Art of the Vatican. By Mary Knight Potter. (London: Bell & Sons. 6s. net.)

This volume opens with a chapter on the Vatican Palace, and then passes to the wonders of the Chapel of Nicholas V., the Borgia apartments, the Sistine Chapel, the Stanze of Raphael, Raphael's Loggie, Raphael's Tapestries, the Sculpture Galleries, and the Pinacoteca. The riches of the Vatican are so great that the Library, the Egyptian and Etruscan Museums, and the

Pauline Chapel have had to be excluded. They might have been included if less space had been given to the pictures and sculpture selected for treatment, but that would have reduced the volume to a mere catalogue. The most noted works are described with considerable detail, and this gives peculiar interest to the book. To read it carefully is an education in art as well as in the history of the Popes who built the Vatican and filled it with treasures. Miss Potter says no history of the Vatican has yet unveiled the secrets known to those walls. "Fearful wrongs, as well as unquestioned virtues, have paraded unafraid beneath the shadow of its protection. Humanity in all its journeys from heights near the angels to depths below all devilhood has passed unhindered through its doors." The illustrations and maps of this volume are themselves works of art, and the criticisms and descriptions of the masterpieces of painting and sculpture are marked by good taste and sound judgment. Miss Potter says that "even with the inadequate talent at his command, Leo XIII. has done much to prove his artistic right to be the successor of the Popes of days for them more fortunate. He has opened new rooms in the library and archives. He has ornamented the Gallery of Candelabra with a rich pavement of marble, and a ceiling where are painted in allegories the acts of his pontificate. His greatest claim to the gratitude of all art lovers is his restoration and opening to the public the apartments of the Borgia. Perhaps, when the to-be-hoped-far-away future has crumbled to ruins the Stanze and the Sistine Chapel, perhaps the soil of Italy will have ready a new race of giant creators, who can worthily replace the masterpieces of the vanished past."

The Empire's Salvation : A Sound Fiscal Policy. By
Fred. G. Shaw. (London : Penman & Son. 1s.)

Mr. Shaw has prepared this book in order to meet the call for information on the vital question raised by Mr. Chamberlain. He contends that England has not fair trade. "British manufacturers are severely handicapped in their own market, for the upkeep of which they pay heavily, by the competition of foreigners, who pay nothing towards the maintenance of that market, and who can therefore undersell the British producers." Mr. Shaw sets himself to discuss the whole subject of the past, present, and future trading position of this country, and to inquire into the Protective system adopted by other nations of

the world. He asks whether Cobden's prophecy of free trade is ever likely to be fulfilled, and holds that Cobden has been proved by his own words to be "most misguided and most wrong." Mr. Shaw gathers together an imposing array of facts and figures which many will find it convenient to have in compact form. His conclusion is that "the change in our Fiscal Policy must come." "Why not," he asks, "insist on its coming at once? The sooner it comes the better for you and your posterity; but delay in this matter is most dangerous." The lack of vitality in our Australian Colonies is due, Mr. Shaw holds, to the Mother Country, which has practically offered no inducements to her children to engage in healthy commercial activity and that mutual reciprocity which they have repeatedly asked for." Special stress is laid on the position of Canada. Every Englishman needs to be informed on this subject, and Mr. Shaw's book supplies much material for forming a wise judgment.

Mr. F. J. Unwin sends us the popular one-volume edition of *The Life of Richard Cobden*, by John Morley. It contains more than a thousand pages, with an ample bibliography and a good portrait, yet its price is only half-a-crown net. It is printed in bold type, and its value, in the light of the present discussion of our fiscal policy, is very great. We hope this cheap edition will have an immense circulation. Its appearance is certainly opportune, and the preface of 1881 almost reads as though it had been penned in view of present controversies.

A Flame of Fire. By Joseph Hocking. (London: Cassell & Co. 3s. 6d.)

A Flame of Fire is concerned with the adventures of three Englishmen in Spain at the time when the invincible Armada was getting ready to sail for our shores. Their errand is to rescue two English ladies from the hands of the Inquisition, and after all manner of dangers they accomplish their object. Rupert Hamstead has an interview with Philip II., and is condemned to be burned alive as a heretic; but he escapes from prison, and wins the heart of the girl who at first disdained and hated him. He gets home in time to take his share in the defeat of the Armada. The story is one of the best that Mr. Joseph Hocking has written, and makes a strong appeal to the sympathies of Protestant readers. Young people will find its fighting and adventures much to their taste.

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